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CHR. WORDSWORTH

BISHOP OF LINCOLN

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MISCELLANIES.

VOL. I.

RIVINGTONS

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MISCELLANIES

LITERARY AND RELIGIOUS

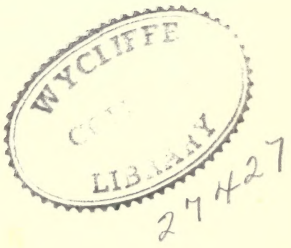
BY

CHR. WORDSWORTH, D.D.

BISHOP OF LINCOLN

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOL. I



RIVINGTONS

London, Oxford, and Cambridge

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PREFACE.

The materials of which these three Volumes consist are derived for the most part from works published at intervals, from time to time, during a long period of years, which, as far as the Author is concerned, are, humanly speaking, now drawing to a close. He has employed the comparative leisure of a summer vacation in putting them together, with the hope, that, if they are of any value and are worth being preserved, they may thus perhaps acquire a permanence, which, in their separate form, they could hardly hope to obtain.

In reviewing those portions of these Volumes, which refer to the religious and political condition and prospects of some foreign Countries,—especially France, Italy, and Germany,—the Author has recognized, not without feelings of regret, that the apprehensions he entertained when he wrote what is here published, have been too fully verified by events; and that providential opportunities then offered to those Countries of rearing up and consolidating the fabrics of National Institutions on the basis of Scriptural, Primitive, and truly Catholic Christianity, have almost passed away; it may be hoped, not irrecoverably. He also trusts that the warnings may not be lost upon England, which are presented by those Countries, of dangers,—domestic, social, moral, and political as well as religious,—with which they are now menaced from Infidelity and Anarchy on the one side, and from Superstition and spiritual Despotism on the other, claiming divine prerogatives, and usurping universal dominion, in defiance of Reason, Scripture, and History, and, which, it is deeply to be deplored, by strange doctrines,

fraudulent delusions, and haughty pretensions, put forth in the sacred name of Religion, have driven men and Nations from Christianity into Unbelief, and thus have strengthened the cause of Socialism and Communism, which cannot be resisted and restrained by penal statutes and civil coercion; and can only be controlled by the moral influence of Christianity, inculcating a belief in the Divine Omnipresence, and in future rewards and punishments, and ministering spiritual grace to perform the social duties which it enjoins.

He would also cherish a hope, that the contributions he has here endeavoured to offer to the maintenance of the Authority of Holy Scripture, and to its right Interpretation, and in support of the Doctrine and Discipline of the Primitive Church, and of the Church of England, and for the strengthening of the religious foundations of Education in our Schools, Colleges, and Universities, may in some degree be ministerial to the preservation of those National Institutions, which, with the divine blessing, have made England to be what she is, and what, he fervently prays, she may long continue to be; and may perhaps be helpful to some in dealing with important questions now under discussion, and in meeting some difficulties which seem to await us.

The portions of these Volumes which relate to Ethics and Physics, to Literature, Ancient and Modern, and to Art and Archæology, may perhaps afford refreshment to some, who believe that a right cultivation of the studies to which they refer has a religious and moral influence, and tends to maintain the dignity and grace, and to promote the healthfulness and happiness, of human Society.

With regard to questions of Theological doctrine, the Author has scarcely entered upon them in the present publication, having dealt with them, as well as he was able, in his Commentary on the Old and New Testaments. But he has admitted some essays on Prophecy, bearing on subjects of practical importance at the present time.

TO THE

CLERGY AND LAITY OF THE DIOCESE OF LINCOLN

THESE VOLUMES ARE INSCRIBED,

IN THANKFUL REMEMBRANCE OF HIS CONNEXION WITH THEM

DURING TEN YEARS,

BY THEIR FAITHFUL FRIEND AND BROTHER,

THE AUTHOR.

CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

POMPEIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

PAGE

The *Graffiti* (or wall-writings) at Pompeii hardly noticed before the Author's visit in 1832 1

Testimonies to that effect—of Padre Garrucci, and M. Le Normant . 1, 2

Dr. Karl Zangemeister 3

The Author's Letter on the subject 3

A line of Virgil 6

Lines of Roman Poets—inferences from 7

Two lines of Ovid 8

Two lines of Propertius 8

Germanicus 9

Pilicrepi 11

Statesman-like letter of a slave 16

Cardinal York 16

Zetema 17

Two more lines of Propertius 18

Two other lines of a Roman Poet 18

Another Hexameter 19

Another Distich 20

Iambics 21

Two other Elegiacs 23

An Advertisement 24

Amphoræ 28

Other Graffiti, why *not* inserted? Inferences from 30

Tertullian on the destruction of Pompeii—Dr. Zangemeister's various Readings 31

A proposed correction of a passage in Cornelius Nepos, concerning Epaminondas 32

NOTES IN GREECE.

Tour of the Author 33

Providential escape from brigands 35

PAGE

Aphidnæ.
The Abbé Barthélemy and Professor Kruse 35, 36
How deceived by a false reading in Dicæarchus; its correction . 35—37
Marathon 39
Descriptions of its site and battle . . . . . 40—43
Athens 44
The Acropolis 44
The Propylæa 45, 46
The Parthenon 47
Impressions of shields 48
Its name 50
View from 51
The Areopagus 52
St. Paul preaching there 53
Raffaelle's Cartoon 54
Æschylus 54
Temple of Eumenides 55
Salamis 57
Correction of an erroneous reading in Alciphron . . . 57, 58
Battle of Salamis 59
Throne of Xerxes . . . . . [1]60
Grotto on *Mount Hymettus;* Pastoral Inscriptions there . . 61
Reflexions on . . . . . 61—65
Plato in this Grotto—Reference to the Author's description of other parts of Greece in his larger Volume bearing that title . . 66

NOTES IN FRANCE.

Conditions and prospects of France in 1844 68
National Education and the Church. *Grand Concours* . . . 69
M. Villemain 70
Struggle between the State and the Church 72
Forebodings 73
The Abbé Migne's Grande Imprimerie 74
His courage 75
Anglican Episcopacy 75
The Abbé Migne's Patrologie 76
A Passage in S. Cyprian 76
Sermon at St. Roch on the festival of the Assumption . . . 77
Worship of the Blessed Virgin 78
Bibliothèque du Roi 79, 80
Theocritus 80
Classical Studies 81
Frères Gaume 82
The Abbé Gaume's "History of Society" 82

[1] In the note there *read* λόφον for λόχον.

PAGE

Present relations of Church and State 83, 84
Gallicanism absorbed by Ultramontanism 84, 85
The French Church changed from Catholic to Papal 85
Civil consequences and political prospects 86
Ultramontanism cannot be resisted by Scepticism and Secularism 86, 87
Indignant Appeal of the French Church to the State . . . 88
Downfall of Louis Philippe's dynasty 89
His visit to Westminster Abbey 89
Dom Pitra (now Cardinal Pitra) intercourse with 90
The *Autun Inscription*, its doctrinal value . . . . 90—94

NOTES AT PARIS.

Occasion of visit in 1853 95
Protestant Pastor 95, 96
Change of position of French Church, under Louis Napoleon . . 97
Not less critical than its state under Louis Philippe . . 97, 98
Sœurs de la Charité ; S. Vincent de Paul 98
Indulgences to prayers for the extirpation of heresies . . . 99
Moral State of French Colleges 100
Abbé Migne's Imprimerie 100
His Patrologie 101
A Protestant Pastor 102, 103
Prospects of Protestantism . . . . . 103—105
Prospects of French Society 106
Disunion of religious orders 106
Hazardous policy of French Church 107
Legitimate claims of the Church of England 108
Who is the Head of the Church? 108, 109
Dr. Newman and Development 110
Prayers to St. Anne 111
Prayers to her daughter, the Blessed Virgin 111
The Lord's Day in Paris 112
Excellent Sermon at St. Roch . . . . . 112—115
Interview with the Preacher . . . . . 115—117
Open Churches 118
Ornaments of Churches 118, 119
Changes in pictorial representations of the Blessed Virgin . . 119
Religious Service at Notre Dame des Victoires. 120
Hymns, Chants, and Sermons 120, 121
The recently discovered Philosophumena of S. Hippolytus 122, 123, 230
French Breviaries 123
The Roman Breviary 124
Political bias of 124, 125
Revival of Mediævalism in France 126
Tendencies of Romanism in France 127
What is the remedy? 127

PAGE

Another Protestant Pastor 128
Warnings to England 128
A memorable event at Amiens 129
Its strange history 129, 130
Great gathering there of Cardinals and Archbishops at a magnificent religious festival in honour of *a supposed Saint—Theudosia* . 131
Historical narrative of this event 132
Homage paid by the Emperor Louis Napoleon and the Empress to the supposed Saint 132
The Papacy has committed itself to a fraud and to a solecism . 131, 133
Practical inferences from such marvellous phenomena as these in the 19th century . . . . . 136—138
Correction of an *error* in the common account of the *Martyrdom* of St. Polycarp 138

NOTES IN ITALY (1862).

Milan—The Ambrosian Library 140
Hymns of S. Ambrose; Dom Biraghi . . . . . 140—143
Church of S. Ambrose 143
Ancient Ambon 145
History of S. Ambrose and his Episcopate at Milan . . 145, 146
Ancient Episcopal Cathedra and chairs of his Suffragans . . . 147
Ancient form of Church Government as to nomination of Bishops . 148
Conversation with a Chierico 148
Contradictions in the Roman doctrine on the Holy Eucharist . 149, 150
The Real Presence 150
Fasting Communion 150
The Immaculate Conception 151
Papal Infallibility 151
Creeds of the Church 151
We have not altered the *Te Deum* 152
Athanasian Creed 152
Appeal to S. Ambrose 153
An Italian Senator on the Papal claims 153
Rosmini and Gioberti 156
Mezzofanti 156
Sunday in Milan 157
Interesting scene of Catechizing and Conferences in the Cathedral on Sundays 158
S. Charles Borromeo 159
Relics 160
Pavia.
Supposed tomb of St. Augustine 161
The Certosa 162, 163
Genoa—its beauty 164, 165
Sermon on Purgatory 166

PAGE
Present Conflict of religious opinion 167
Village in the Appennines.
A day (Ascension Day) with a learned and devout Parish Priest 168, 169
Prospects of Italy—Conflict of the Italian Crown and Papacy . . 170
A Roman Catholic Advocate, and a learned Roman Catholic Ecclesiastic . . . . . 172—174
Recent important publications on the religious question . . . 172
Ancient protests; Dante, Guicciardini 173, 174
The Remarkable Essay of Filippo Perfetti on the Clergy and Society; and on the Reformation of the Church . . . . 175—178
Another remarkable Essay, by Abate Rosmini 179
Suppression of Monasteries 180
Comparison of Henry VIII. as a Reformer with the Supreme Power in Italy at the present time 181
What might be done? 181
Conversation with a Dominican 182
Pistoia.
Historical Sketch of Bishop Scipio de Ricci's attempts at Reformation in Italy—why they failed . . . . . 183—187
Practical inferences from this history at this time . . . 187—189
A learned Roman Catholic Priest on Church reform . . . 189
Remarks on Ricci's acts 191
Eloquent Sermon in a Church at Florence 191, 193
The Preacher's strictures on Protestantism 192
Interview with the Preacher—his explanation 193
A Christening in the Baptistery at Florence . . . . 195—197

NOTES AT ROME.

The Canonization of the Japanese Martyrs 197
Its purpose 198, 202
Historical Sketch of Canonization 198, 202
Significance of this Canonization 203
Spectacle of the interior of St. Peter's after the Canonization . 204, 205
Record of the promulgation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception 205
Passaglia 205, 206
Attack on the Temporal Power of the Papacy 207, 208
Is it a fulfilment of Prophecy? 207, 209
"Non possumus," Nemesis of 209, 210
Description of an Ordination at S. Giovanni Laterano . . 210—214
The English Ordinal 214
Anniversary of the Pope's Accession 216
"Adoratio Pontificis" 216
Sketch of his career 216, 217
Napoleon the Third's policy 218, 219, 267, 268
Tarpeian Rock—Baron Bunsen 219, 220

PAGE

Roman Forum; Contrasts 221
Colosseum 222
S. Ignatius . . . . . 222—224
S. Clement. 224
Succession of Roman Bishops 225
View from Monte Mario 225
S. John Lateran 226
Lateran Councils 226
Scala Santa 227
The Emperor Constantine's Baptism, Roman Legends of; Inference from 227, 228
Lateran Museum 228
Interesting Christian frescoes from the Catacombs 229
S. Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus, his statue 229
His recently discovered Treatise 230
Important inferences from it 230, 231
Cloaca Maxima 231, 232
Festival of Corpus Domini, Description of—Origin of—Hymns at . . . . . 232—238
Inferences from . . . . . 239—241
Sermon at Santa Maria sopra Minerva on the Holy Eucharist 241—242
Museum at the Collegio Romano; celebrated ancient Graffito discovered on the Palatine 242
Practical religious inferences from it . . . . . 243—249
Was St. Paul imprisoned near the Palatine? 245
Visit to Padre Vercellone 245
His work on the Vatican MS. of the Greek Testament, and his edition of the Vulgate 246
His ingenuous avowal as to the celebrated text Gen. iii. 15 . 246, 247
Its relation to the Immaculate Conception 247, 248
His allegations against the Church of England, the Royal Supremacy, &c., &c. . . . . 248—251
Advantages given to Rome by some books published in England . 252
How Rome treats the Bible 252, 253, 254, 255
Tombs of Scipios 254
Columbarium of family of Cæsars 255
Cremation 256
Catacomb of Pope Callistus 257
Epitaphs of early Roman Bishops 257
Early Bishops of Rome were Greeks 259
Simplicity of Epitaphs 259
Malaria 261
Can Rome become a Capital? 261, 255
The Ghetto; Hopes of the Jews . . . . . 261—263
Festival on St. John the Baptist's day 263
Description of the Scene in the Church of St. John Lateran . 263—265
A Lottery on behalf of the Papacy 265

PAGE
Prospects of Rome. Can a Reformation take place; and how? 265—267
The Author's "THREE LETTERS on the Conflict between the Court of Rome and the Kingdom of Italy," especially on PAPAL APPOINTMENTS TO EPISCOPAL SEES . . . . . 268—283
Offer to him of a bribe from a Cardinal; and what it indicated . 268, 269
Napoleon's policy in France, 281; Unhappy consequences which have arisen in Italy from disregarding the facts and principles stated in these "Three Letters." What is now to be done? . . 283

THE GREEK ARCHBISHOP OF SYROS, ALEXANDER LYCURGUS.

Archbishop Alexander Lycurgus 284
His visit to England 284
Visit to Lincoln and Nottingham 285
Hopes of friendly intercourse between the Churches of the East and the Church of England 286
Archbishop Wake, Archbishop Howley, Archbishop Longley . . 286
Consecration of the Bishop Suffragan of Nottingham . . . 288
Address to Archbishop Lycurgus at Nottingham . . . 290, 292
His reply 292
His letter to the Bishop of Lincoln 293
Acknowledgment of gifts from the Archbishop 294
ARCHBISHOP LONGLEY, the LAMBETH CONFERENCE (of 1867), and the Eastern Church 296
Archbishop Longley's Commission to the Author 296
Greek Translation of the Lambeth Encyclic, and the Archbishop's commendatory letter prefixed to it 297, 298
The Original of the Encyclic 301
Latin Translation of it . . . . . 304, 305—308
Archbishop Longley on the effects of the Conference and Encyclic . 308
Another Commission to the Author, showing Archbishop Longley's friendly feeling to the Eastern Church 308
The Author's appointment to the See of Lincoln . . . 309, 311

THE VATICAN COUNCIL OF 1869.

The Author's Address at Cuddesdon before the Vatican Council . 312
What do we mean by a "*General Council*"? . . . 314—319
Was the Vatican Council a General Council? 319
Will its decrees be received? 321
Contrast of the Churches of Rome and England 322
What will be its results? 313
Prospects of Christendom 224

PAGE
Christendom's need of a learned Clergy 324
Lamentations of Roman Catholic writers on the condition of their own Clergy 324
What is to be hoped from the tendencies of some forms of foreign Protestantism? 325
Severance of Theology from the Christian Ministry . . . 325, 326
The Christian Priest as a Divine 327
Exhortations to Candidates for the English Priesthood . . 327—329
The Author's reply to the Epistle of Pope Pius IX. with an English translation . . . . . 330—359
Apostolic Episcopacy 345
The Apostolic and Catholic character of the Church of England 345, 346
Her acts 347
Contrast between St. Paul and Pope Pius IX. 349
What the English Reformation did, and what it did *not* do . 349, 350
Who is the Rock of the Church? 351
Popes have erred, and have been resisted by good men . . 352, 353
What has Rome done for the Bible? 354, 355
Rome's variableness and errors 356, 357
Prayer for Unity in the Truth 358, 359
WHETHER THE BABYLON OF THE APOCALYPSE OF ST. JOHN IS, OR IS NOT, THE CITY AND CHURCH OF ROME? . . . 359—438
Need of this inquiry 360
Arguments for identity of the Apocalyptic Babylon with the *City* of Rome . . . . . 361—372
Acknowledgment of this identity by the greatest Romanist divines 373—374
The argument reduced to a narrow compass 374
Is the Apocalyptic Babylon the *Church* of Rome? 375
Arguments for the affirmative . . . . . 376—410
Views of Ancient Fathers 375
Dante, Petrarch, and others 376, 377
Prophecy how to be interpreted 379
Bossuet's Theory 381, 388
Babylon not merely a heathen or infidel Rome 385, 387
Bossuet's Allegations 388, 392
Contrasts 393
Richard Hooker 397, 421
"Adoratio Pontificis" 405
Summary of the Evidence . . . . . 410—413
Answer to objections . . . . . 414—416
Spiritual use of this Prophecy 417
Cautions to be used in its application . . . . . 418—424
Certain fallacies refuted 424
Doctrinal and practical uses of the Apocalypse . . . 426—429
What is *true Unity?* 426
Is union with Rome possible? 430, 431
Bishop Andrewes 431

PAGE

Principles of the Church of England and blessings in her Communion 432, 434
Warnings of the Apocalypse 435
Future prospects of Rome 436, 437

CONGRESS OF THE OLD CATHOLICS AT COLOGNE.

Records of . . . . . 438—481
The Author's Letter to Dr. Wingerath before the Congress . 441—457
Suggestions to Old Catholics—dangers . . . . . 452—456
Previous private Conference at Bonn 457
Suggestions as to Prayer and Confession of Faith . . . 457, 458
Congress of Old Catholics—Archbishop of Utrecht's Address . . 461
The Author's Address . . . . . 462—472
How received; the President Von Schulte 472, 473
Bishop of Ely (now of Winchester), his Address 475
Reflections on the Old Catholic movement 477
And on the condition of Germany 480
Replies to invitations to the Congress at Constance 481
And at Freiburg . . . . . 484—486
Erasmus and the Old Catholics 487
Use of the Latin Language 488, 489
Erasmus and Luther compared 491
Present prospects of Christendom 492, 493

POMPEIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

THE following pages represent the work of several days spent at Pompeii in the summer of the year 1832, in deciphering inscriptions traced by a sharp stylus, more than 1700 years ago, on the hard cement of the walls of houses and public buildings of that city, which were buried by the shower of ashes poured forth upon it from the neighbouring volcanic mountain Vesuvius on the 25th August, anno Domini 79. By the courtesy of the Neapolitan Government, I was permitted to copy these inscriptions at leisure. And it is pleasing to record here my obligations to Italian and French Archæologists, who were kind enough to encourage my labours, and to recognize them as opening a new field of antiquarian discovery. A young traveller is stimulated to further enterprises by such friendly acknowledgments, and I hope to be pardoned for referring, as I do with sentiments of heartfelt gratitude, to words—perhaps too flattering—which afforded ample reward for the pains bestowed upon those interesting relics, more than forty years ago.

The learned Jesuit, Père Raffaelle Garrucci, thus wrote in his work entitled *Inscriptions gravées au trait sur les Murs de Pompéi* (Bruxelles: De Mortier, 1854, p. 12):—

"L'étude des inscriptions cursives, paraît avoir été peu suivie jusqu'à l'apparition de l'ouvrage de M. Wordsworth. Cet heureux voyageur aperçut le premier sur le mur extérieur de la basilique de Pompéi des inscriptions métriques gravées à la pointe. Il les recueillit avec soin et les publia en Angleterre, avec des notes plutôt littéraires qu'archéologiques. Son petit recueil parut sous ce titre:

Inscriptiones Pompeianæ ; or, Specimens and Fac-similes of Ancient Inscriptions discovered on the Walls of Buildings at Pompeii. London, 1837. Lorsque l'élégant volume envoyé par l'auteur à l'Académie d'Herculanum parvint à Naples, la surprise et l'admiration furent grandes. J'ignore si notre illustre Avellino avait connaissance de ces monuments, lui qui, dès 1831, avait montré combien il appréciait des inscriptions au stylet beaucoup moins importantes. Ce qu'il y a de sûr, c'est que, dans son zèle infatigable pour la gloire de son pays, il fit alors détacher de la basilique les inscriptions illustrées par Wordsworth et les fit transporter à l'abri dans le Musée royal, ainsi que beaucoup d'autres, gravées sur des enduits trop exposés à Pompéi. Et dirigeant dès lors plus particulièrement ses études sur ce genre de monuments trop longtemps négligé, il fit paraître dès 1840 un mémoire sur des inscriptions cursives jointes à des scènes de gladiateurs. Pour voir à quel point les inscriptions au stylet intéressaient notre grand archéologue, il n'y a qu'à parcourir les six volumes du *Bulletin Archéologique,* où il a pris la peine avec un soin jaloux de communiquer aux savants périodiquement tout ce qui se découvrait en ce genre à Pompéi. Il en est résulté une série précieuse que la mort seule a pu interrompre en 1847.

"J'ai maintenant à examiner plus en détail l'ouvrage de M. Wordsworth. Il renferme trente inscriptions, la plupart en vers. Le commentateur en fait connaître les auteurs et jette du jour sur les textes par d'heureux rapprochements. Sa lecture est ordinairement excellente, et je n'aurai guère qu'à la confirmer."

The celebrated French Archæologist, M. François Lenormant, was pleased to express himself as follows, in his review of Père Garrucci's work (Paris : Douniol, 1854) :—

"On voit que cette mine si riche était restée inexploitée, lorsqu'en 1837 . . . . . un savant anglais plein d'esprit et d'érudition, M. le docteur Wordsworth, revenant de Naples, fit paraître à Londres une brochure intitulée *Inscriptiones Pompeianæ.* Ce curieux volume était un choix de trente inscriptions presque toutes métriques et d'un intérêt capital, que l'habile voyageur

anglais, en explorant les ruines de Pompéi, avait découvertes sur les parvis de monuments bien des fois vus, revus et étudiés par les savants de Naples et du reste de l'Europe, particulièrement sur celles de la Basilique.

"*Lorsque l'élégant volume envoyé par l'auteur à l'Académie d'Herculanum parvint à Naples,* dit le P. Garrucci, *la surprise et l'admiration furent grandes.* C'était, il faut en convenir, une leçon assez dure pour les antiquaires napolitains. Il était humiliant pour eux de voir un étranger découvrir, sur les murs de monuments dont ils étaient disposés à considérer l'étude comme leur apanage exclusif, des textes d'une haute importance, dont ils n'avaient seulement pas soupçonné l'existence. L'éveil avait été donné à l'Europe par M. Wordsworth, les Allemands s'empressèrent de profiter des nouveaux renseignements que fournissait son travail, et, dès 1840, M. Massmann, dans son ouvrage sur l'écriture cursive latine, publia un grand nombre de *fac-simile* de *graffiti* que lui avait envoyés de Naples un de ses amis, le docteur Boekl."

I will speak, at the close of this paper, of the elaborate work of Karl Zangemeister. The results of my researches were contained in the following Letter written by me in 1837, to a brother-fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, with whom I had the pleasure of travelling in Italy in 1832 :—

My dear P——,

You will remember that when we visited Pompeii together in the summer of 1832, you chose to indulge yourself in some pleasant humour on the attention which I paid to the ancient inscriptions which are scrawled on the walls of the buildings and streets of that place. I intend now to revenge myself on you for it by sending to you, as a fellow-traveller, some of these same inscriptions, with a few observations upon them :—

> Et quota pars hæc sunt rerum quas vidimus ambo,
> Te mihi jucundas efficiente vias?
> Seu rate cæruleas pictâ sulcavimus undas,
> Esseda nos agili sive tulere rotâ.
> Sæpe brevis nobis vicibus via visa loquendi,
> Pluraque si numeras verba fuere gradu.

Sæpe dies sermone minor fuit; inque loquendum
Tarda per æstivos defuit hora dies.
Est aliquid casus pariter timuisse marinos:—
Et modo res egisse simul; modo rursus ab illis
Quorum non pudeat posse referre jocos—[1]

which is an additional reason why I now address myself to *you.*

I should indeed have abstained from this undertaking as unnecessary, had any notice whatever been taken of these fragments to which I now invite your attention, by any of the writers who have described the antiquities of Pompeii. The Neapolitan antiquaries and topographers have altogether passed them by; and in the numerous guide-books written by others, there is scarcely any allusion to their existence.[2] As they seem to me to possess some interest, and as the communication of them to others has, at least, the merit of novelty, I have thought it worth while to put them here upon record.

Lucian tells us that it was a common practice for idle people to scribble their thoughts on the town walls in his day; and from him it appears that at Athens the sides of the Dipylum,—the great western gate of that city,—were much used in this way. He[3] has preserved one of these inscriptions. We know too, from Aristophanes, that this was also the case in his age. The greatest compliment which the Thracian king could pay to the Athenian city, was to daub on the streets of his northern capital the words ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙ ΚΑΛΟΙ![4] *Athenians for ever!* In later days too, in the city of Rome, the eloquence of walls was powerful. It produced, according to Plutarch[5], the Agrarian Laws of Tiberius Gracchus, who was excited to propose those demo-

Ovid. Pont. ii. 10.

[2] I except one article in the Bulletino dell' Instituto of Rome, and a very few scattered hints on the subject in Sir W. Gell's Pompeii.

[3] Lucian, tom. iii. p. 287. Comp. Callim. Ep. lxx.

[4] Aristophanes, Achar. 144. Cf. Bergler's note, and Creuzer, præf. Plotin. p. xxv.

[5] Plut. in T. Gracch. c. 8. Cf. Martial, Ep. i. 118:—
Scriptis postibus hinc et inde totis.

cratical measures by the popular expressions which he read on the walls and porticos of the Eternal City.

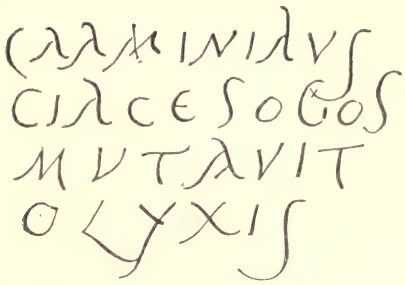
You will remember the house of the accomplished author (now, alas! no more) of the "Pursuits of Literature," on the Pizzofalcone at Naples. I must confess that its antique interior, in a classic country, gave me much pleasure. I liked it the better for the hospitable SALVE inscribed on the threshold of the door; nor was the momentary shock which was produced by the sight of that grim artificial dog which crouched like another Cerberus near it, with the huge uncials CAVE CANEM staring you in the face from the wall above him, ill compensated by the pleasant associations of antique scenes and manners connected with these illusions; and the household morality of the pithy apophthegms FESTINA LENTE, and NE QVID NIMIS, and SVSTINE ET ABSTINE, engraved on the stucco walls of the saloon and library, was, I hold, a species of decoration neither useless nor unpleasing. You liked it, I am sure, quite as well as mural arabesques of Japanese jugglery, or riddling hieroglyphics.

Let us then, my dear P——, ascend once more, in fancy at least, our Neapolitan carratella, and drive off to Pompeii; and if you will put yourself under my guidance, we will go again through the particular streets in which the inscriptions I shall specify are to be found.

It should be premised that these inscriptions are, as you will see, for the most part scratched with a pointed stylus on the hard red stucco with which those buildings are covered. It is owing to the exceeding solidity of this material, that the words carelessly traced upon it by hands which have now withered and crumbled in the dust for more than seventeen hundred years, are still, in many cases, as legible as these printed characters which are now before you.

You will allow me first of all, in due courtesy to yourself, to introduce you to a line of your favourite Latin poet, Virgil. It is written on the outside of the north wall of the Chalcidicum of Eumachia,[6] thus :—

[6] The position of which you will easily find by reference to the Plan of Pompeii, No. 29, in the Atlas of the Society for Diffusing Useful Knowledge.



Here you recognize a line from Virgil. It is in the eighth Eclogue (v. 70)—

Carminibus Circe socios mutavit Olyxis—

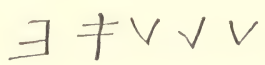
perhaps inscribed in this spot by the hand of one of Virgil's own friends, who enjoyed his intimacy while he lived and sung in this neighbourhood—

—— *Virgilium quo tempore dulcis alebat*
Parthenope,—

on the shores of whose bay,—the *vicina Vesevo Ora jugo*,[7]— he once dwelt, and now lies buried, as his epitaph records:

Mantua me genuit; Calabri rapuere; tenet nunc
Parthenope; cecini pascua, rura, duces.

Some grammatical observations might be here made on the form *Olyxis*, which will not be neglected by the future editors of Virgil.[8] Heyne's reading, Ulixi, which is against all the MSS., is not a fortunate one. The word



(Ulyxe) appears engraved on an ancient gem mentioned by Lanzi,[9] and may be compared with the form in this inscription, which, like the population of Pompeii, contains a tinge of Greek mixed with Latin.

[7] Virg. Georg. ii. 224.

[8] Compare Bentley, Hor. Od. i. vi. 7; Ramshorn's Gr. Lat. Gram. § 29, p. 55.

[9] Saggio di Lingua Etrusca, i. p. 168.

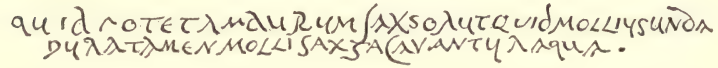
It is rather surprising that Horace, as far as our evidence goes, does not seem to have been a favourite author at Pompeii. Of all the Latin poets who flourished before its destruction by the volcano in its neighbourhood, he would appear most likely to have been popular here. He was probably known in person to many of the Pompeians. He once frequented the tepid waters and myrtle groves of Baiæ, and had no doubt enjoyed the breezes of Sorrento, and explored the other delightful retreats of this beautiful coast: but while, as you will see, several of his contemporaries are more fortunate in this respect, not a syllable, as far as I know, from the writings of Horace survives on the walls of Pompeii. Perhaps the very novelty of his metres, which he considered as his own peculiar merit, was the cause of this.

We hear much of the diffusion of literary tastes among all classes of people in our own age and country; and comparisons, injurious to other nations and times, are founded on this assumption. This is hardly fair. I should much question whether all the walls of all the country towns in England, would, if Milton were lost, help us to a single line of the Paradise Lost. *Our* Pompeiis do not yet exhibit the words of *our* Virgils, nor does it seem probable that they soon will. The leisure thoughts and stray musings of our provincials do not wander much in such directions:—but to return to Pompeii.

If we walk down the street which lies to the north of the Chalcidicum of Eumachia, we shall enter what was once the Forum of Pompeii. Crossing the Forum, and keeping a little to the left, you approach the Basilica or Law Court of the town. This place will, no doubt, call together in your mind some agreeable professional associations; we will pause then a little here.

In Westminster Hall, Shakspeare, Milton, and Dryden, are remembered by the lawyers who plead there; but I doubt whether the mixed audience who listen to the pleadings, would, if left to themselves, beguile their leisure moments by references to the writings of these poets. This seems to have been otherwise in the small provincial town of Pompeii.

Two lines, familiar to us from our childhood, are found twice inscribed on the right-hand wall, near the principal entrance of the Basilica. They served, perhaps, as the consolation of a weary client while listening to the prosecution of his tedious suit. There is in their orthography a little admixture of Greek, and a little ignorance of Latin, which was probably common enough in the dialect of the Greek colonists of this part of Italy, who had a national claim to write and converse *Canusini more bilinguis*. The lines are as follows:—

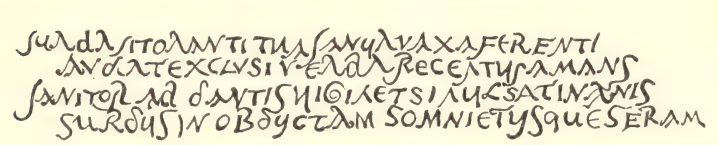


You have here the popular distich of Ovid,[1] though the words are *parcè distorta* :—

> *Quid pote tam durum saxso, aut quid mollius undâ ?*
> *Dura tamen molli saxsa cavantur aquâ.*

The variation of Quid *pote* tam from the poet's Quid magis est, is a curious Græcism ; and in the case of the word *saxso* an English tiro will proudly correct the false Latinity of an Italian scribe who wrote in the Augustan age !

At a little distance from this point, we have four lines from two different poets :—



You see here two lines of Ovid, followed by two of his friend Propertius. The poets are here united as formerly when one of them said :—

> Sæpe suos solitus recitare Propertius ignes,
> *Jure sodalitio qui mihi junctus erat.*[2]

The first two of the above four lines are, as you will see :

[1] Ovid. A. A. i. 475.

[2] Ovid. Trist. iv. 10, 44, 53.

Surda sit oranti tua janua, laxa ferenti :
Audiat exclusi verba receptus amans,

which will be found in our editions of Ovid, Amor. l. viii. 77 : the two latter—

Janitor ad dantis vigilet, si pulsat inanis
Surdus in obductam somniet usque seram[3]—

are still extant in Propertius (iv. v. 47), where the printed copies have pulset : the orthography of the accusative dan*tis* in the third line of inscription is a conclusive evidence of the practice of the best ages of Latinity in that particular respect, and may serve to confirm the assertions of Bentley and Heyne in their respective prefaces to Horace and Virgil[4] upon it.

We pass from Ovid to the patron of his Fasti, Germanicus. The following date, scratched on the stucco of the wall before us, carries us back in imagination from the present year, A.D. 1837, to A.D. 18. You there read :—

TI CAESARE TERTIO GERMANICO
CAESAR · ITER · COS

This was a critical period in the history of the noble Germanicus.[5] It was the year which intervened between his splendid triumph, gained by his German conquests, and his melancholy death at the Syrian Antioch.

This inscription remained visible for sixty years after it was here first written ; it was then buried for seventeen

[3] Cp. Plaut. Asin. i. iii. 89 :—
Si affers, tum patent ; si non est quod des, ædes non patent.

[4] P. xli. Cf. Gell. N. A. xiii. 20.

[5] At this mention of Tiberius, I may observe that on one of the *columns* in what is called the Quartiere dei Soldati, at Pompeii, are inscribed the words CANIDIA NER——. Whether they contain an allusion to Nero as bearing any resemblance in character to Canidia, both of whose poisonings and incantations, as well as those of Folia, were probably notorious to the *otiosa Neapolis, et omne vicinum oppidum* (Hor. Epod. v. 43), I do not attempt to determine. For the *sobriquets* of Tiberius, see Sueton. Tib. 38, 42 ; of Vespasian, Vesp. 19. That pasquinades on Nero were written on *columns* in his lifetime, appears from Sueton. Ner. 45, *adscriptum* et *columnis* &c. Canidia seems to have been a general term for a *venefica ;* Heindorf, Hor. p. 242.

hundred by the ashes of Vesuvius, and promises to survive as many more. It is, I apprehend, the oldest Latin MS. in existence.

You will observe that the writer has determined the controversy which Cicero was unable to decide. Cicero, being in doubt between Tertium and Tertio, discreetly recommended to Pompey, who had applied to him as arbiter on the subject, to compromise the matter, and write TERT.[6] Our scribe is a bolder man, and writes at full length TERTIO.

"*Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona,*" but no record remains of their courage. See the fickleness of fortune! for while great battles have been fought, and splendid victories won, without leaving a trace behind them of their splendour or greatness, you will find on the wall before you an advertisement of a *game of rackets*, which was to be played here seven hundred years before the conquest of England. As the poet says, "Enimvero Dî nos quasi *pilas* homines habent." You see there traced on the cement the following words:—

AMIANTHVS EPAPHRA TERTIVS LVDANT
CVM HEDYSIO IVCVNDVS NOLANVS PETAT
NVMERET CITVS ET STACVS AMIANTHVS

i. e., as I conceive,

Amianthus, Epaphra, Tertius, ludant cum Hedysio, Jucundus Nolanus petat, numeret Citus et Stacus Amianthus—

Some of the persons here mentioned—they are either slaves or freedmen—appear in a marble fragment of an inscription preserved in the Studii at Naples, which came from Pompeii. It is this:—

TERTIVS
EPAPHRA
HABER
CITVS
ISTACIDIAE L· F· MIN· AVG
EX D· D·

[6] Aul. Gell. x. 1.

Here you recognize the names of Tertius, Epaphra (both appellations familiar to us from a very different source, namely, the Epistles of St. Paul),[7] and Citus, all of which appear in the former inscription.

The name Epaphra is an instance of the rule so well illustrated by Bentley[8] in his letter to Mill, which prescribed that the appellatives of slaves, which in Greek terminated in *as*, were to be Latinized into *a*, which was not the case with *free* Greek names of the same termination. Thus the slave carried the badge of slavery in his very name, till the happy moment when he

> ——— momento turbinis exit
> Marcus *Dama*.[9]

Ἐπαφρᾶς, *the slave* in Greek, became in Latin Epaphr*a* (and so perhaps the name ought to stand in our Bibles), while Anaxagoras the *philosopher* retained his original termination in *as*.

> Id quod Anaxagor*as* sibi sumit.
> *Lucret.* i. 876.

To return to our game. The best commentary on it is a sentence in one of Seneca's[1] letters to his friend Lucilius (the one which precedes his curious description of the Grotto of Pausilypo, through which we passed the other day), where he congratulates himself on being able to prosecute his studies to a certain extent even while sitting over a noisy bath-room,[2] where games at rackets were going on. "Ecce," says the philosopher, "varius clamor me circumsonat: supra ipsum balneum habito; si vero *pilicrepus* supervenerit, et *numerare* cœperit pilas, actum est." The pilicrepus is explained to mean the person *qui pilâ ludit*, in a gloss of

[7] See Rom. xvi. 22; Coloss. i. 7, iv. 12; Philipp. v. 23. Grotius (ad Luc. init.) considers him to be the same person as Epaphroditus.

[8] ii. p. 347. Dyce's edition.

[9] Persius, v. 78.

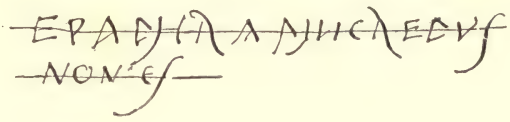
[1] Epistola lvi.

[2] Quippe (says Bentley on Hor. Sat. i. 6. 126, fugio campum lusumque trigonem) a pilæ lusu balnea semper adibant, aut, &c.

Isidorus ;[3] the etymology of the word is ascertained from the lines of Statius[4] which describe the bath of Claudius Etruscus :—

> "Quid nunc strata solo referam tabulata *crepantes*
> Auditura *pilas*, ubi languidus ignis inerrat
> Ædibus, et tenuem volvunt hypocausta vaporem."[5]

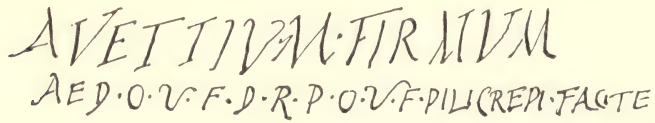
I find that this same word occurs in another inscription on this wall, and connected with this same *Epaphra*, who was probably distinguished for his skill in this game.



that is,

Epaphra, pilicrepus non es ;

a line of erasure has been drawn through the words by some one who did not approve of their jealous detraction from the professional merits of Epaphra. There seems to have been a company of *Pilicrepi* at Pompeii, if we may judge from an electioneering inscription once visible on a wall in this town, and now preserved in the collection at Naples, and in the work of the Herculanensian Society.[6]



that is,[7]

[3] See Lipsius on the passage of Seneca, and particularly Turne b. Adver. vii. 4.

[4] Sylvæ, l. v. 57.

[5] Compare especially, the very curious metrical inscription in Orellii Inscr. Lat. i. p. 453, Gruter, 637, where the word occurs twice.

[6] Herculanensia, Dissert. Isagog. p. 66. Tavole, p. 1, Tav. x.

[7] This inscription and others similar to it, have been generally considered as invocations of favour from the Ædile or other officer specified in them, and not as solicitations of votes for him before his election. That the latter

A. Vettium Firmum
Ædilem Oro Vos Facite, Dignum Republicâ,
Oro Vos Facite; PILICREPI *facite.*

This is an appeal to the *Pilicrepi* to VOTE FOR FIRMUS at the next election of municipal officers; perhaps for the same reasons as the lovers of a more modern game, that of cricket, might have been called upon, a few years ago, to support its parliamentary patron, Mr. Wm. Ward, M.P. for London. There is another allusion to Epaphra still visible here :—

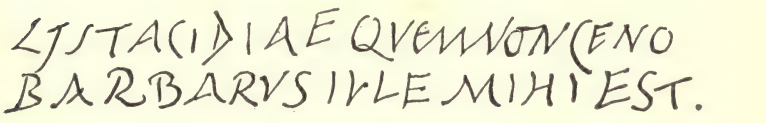
that is,

Epaphra, glaber es;

which requires no other explanation than is given by the directions of the cook in Plautus [8] to his lacquey while dressing the dinner :—

Tu istum gallum, si sapis,
Glabriorem reddes mihi quam volsus *Ludiu' st.* v.

Can you discover the meaning of the following words?



They seem to refer to the lady mentioned in the inscription from the Neapolitan Studii [9]; and may express her

is the true interpretation may be gathered from the inscriptions in Tav. xi. of the Diss. Isag. and other documents of the same nature.

[8] Aulul. ii. 9. 7, where see the note of Turnebus. Ludii adolescentes erant tuniculas induti insignes galeati et ensiferi peltatique, qui omnibus circensibus et theatralibus pompis in versum incedebant, Saliis similes. Si qui eorum essent grandiusculi, vellebantur et *glabri* reddebantur. Compare Orell. Inscr. Lat. i. p. 172.

[9] Her name is inscribed on the podium of the Amphitheatre here. Ibid. p. 444: and see below at the end of this paper.

sentiments to be, that whoever did not ask her to supper (literally, whomsoever she did not sup upon) was to her as bad as a Barbarian.

Listacidiæ (i. e. γνώμη) *Quem non cœno, barbarus ille mihi est.*

Catullus laughs at the vicious *pronunciation* of his friend Arrius,[1] but bad *spelling* was probably too common in his time to provoke his satire. We have a curious instance of it here. The name of the building in which we are is in several places inscribed on its walls; but in no instance that I can find, is it correctly spelt. It is always written

BASSILICA

As specimens of the same inaccuracy, I select from the same spot,

AMIANTVM QVOTIMAEO OROVOS

that is,

Amiantum quod timaeo (*timeo*) *Oro Vos.*
In that I fear Amianthus, I implore your aid.

SOMIVS CORNEILIOIVS PENDRE

that is,

Somius Corneilio (*Cornelio*) *jus pendre* (*perendie?*)

that is,

Somius threatens Cornelius with an action the day after to-morrow.

These words were probably scrawled by some slave on the stucco while the lawyers of Pompeii were engaged in pleading here; a circumstance which suggested the above threat. Suggested too, by the place, seem to have been the following:—

[1] Carm. lxxviii.

QVOD PRETIVMLEGI

that is,

Quod pretium legi?

which may be compared with the

Auro pulsa fides; auro venalia jura;
Aurum iex sequitur

of Propertius;[2] and the

Quod vocis pretium?

in a somewhat different sense, of Juvenal's seventh satire.

TVENIM MEDOCES

Tu enim me doces?

A literal translation of the σὺ διδάσκεις ἡμᾶς, in St. John's Gospel:[3] it was, no doubt, a proverbial expression.

We turn from the bad spelling of Pompeian slaves to a little of their good humour. Here you will see a letter from one of them to his fellow-slave: it is a very laconic one. You will perceive in it an attempt to parody the pompous style of diplomatic despatches, such as those of Cicero.[4]

M· T· M· F· CICERO· S· D· CN·
POMPEIO· CN· F· MAGNO, IMPERATORI

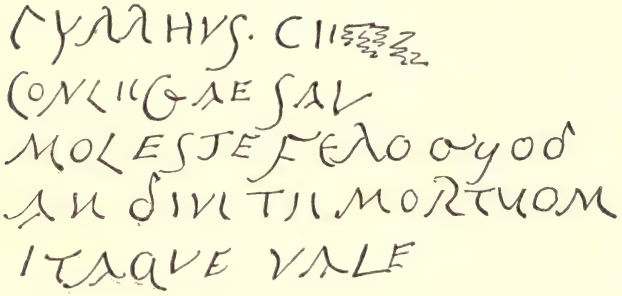
Ex literis tuis quas publice misisti cepi una cum omnibus *incredibilem voluptatem*, &c.; or again this,

M· T· C· Q· VALERIO Q· F· ORCAE,
LEG PROPRAET· S· P· D[5]

Non *moleste fero* eam necessitudinem quæ mihi tecum est, notam esse quàm plurimis, &c.

Our slave then, scribbling on the wall, writes as follows:—

[2] iii. 43, 49. [3] ix. 34. [4] Ep. Div. v. 7.
[5] Ib. xiii. 5.



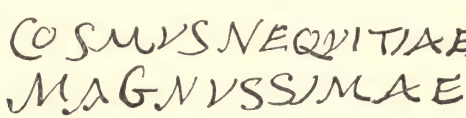
that is,

PYRRHUS GETAE[6]
CONLEGAE SAL.
Molesté fero, quod
audivi—Te *mortuom.*
Itaque VALE.

PYRRHUS TO
GETA HIS COL-
LEAGUE WISHETH HEALTH.
I take deeply to
heart what I
have heard—
that you are
dead. Therefore
FAREWELL.

Cicero in his Pompeian villa here could not have written in a more statesman-like style.

An effusion of raillery, somewhat similar, is the following; it is a slave's character:—



that is,

Cosmus nequitiæ est magnussimæ.

The new superlative *magnussimæ*, coined for the occasion, may remind you of the story of his Eminence Cardinal York, who was tenacious of his royal dignity, of the House of Stuart, and when asked at dinner in too familiar

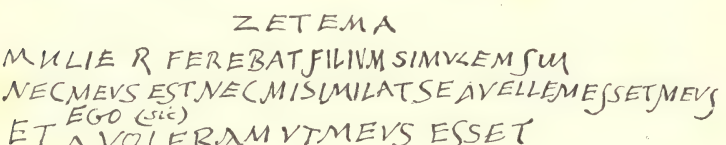
[6] This word is uncertain.

style, as he thought, whether he could taste a particular viand: "Non ne voglio," he replied; "perche *Il Rè*, mio padre, non ne ha mangiato mai, e *La Regina*, mia madre, *maiissimo.*"

You perhaps remember our hearing a person say to his friend in the Corso at Rome, "Io non sono grande, e la mia moglie è piccola; ciò non ostante, i miei figli sono proprii granatieri;" and a similar intimation of conjugal infidelity, which is now the curse of Italy,

ῥηΐδιοί τε γοναὶ τέκνα δ' οὔκετ' ἐοικότα πατρί,

is presented on this wall by the following:—


ZETEMA
MULIE R FEREBAT FILIVM SIMVLEM SVM
NEC MEVS EST NEC MI SIMILAT SE AVELLEM ESSET MEVS
ET EGO (sic) VOLEBAM VT MEVS ESSET

Zetema.
Mulier ferebat filium simulemsui;
Nec meus est, nec mi simulat, sed vellem esset meus,
Et ego volebam ut meus esset.

which requires no other explanation than the

ἦ καλὸν, ὅκκα πέλῃ τέκνα γονεῦσιν ἴσα

of Nossis, or the

Laudantur simili prole puerperæ

of Horace.[7]

To the specimens of bad spelling given a little above, I add one of peculiar orthography:—

that is,

Nemo est bellus, nisi qui amavit:[8]

[7] Od. iv. 5, 21.

[8] Martial, iii. 63:—

Bellus, fœmineas totâ qui luce cathedras
Desidet, atque aliqua semper in aure sonat.

where the II stands for E, as in a metrical epitaph in the Vatican, of which the first line is.

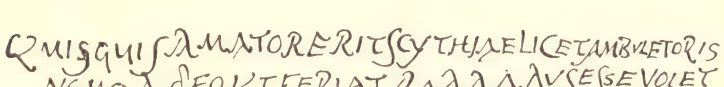
TII LAPIS OPTIISTOR LIIVITIIR SVPIIR OSSA RESIDAS.

that is,

Te lapis optestor, leviter super ossa residas!

There are some other instances of this here, but not many.

Let me now point out to you one or two poetical fragments:—



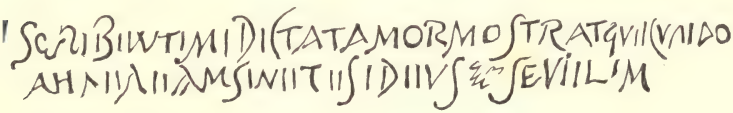
You perceive here two lines of Propertius,[1] taken from the elegy in which he describes his evening walk from Rome to Tibur. They are as follows:—

Quisquis amator erit, Scythiæ licet ambulet oris,
Nemo adeo ut feriat barbarus esse volet.

To those who are fond of various readings each line will supply one: the former, *Scythiæ* for *Scythicis*, as it stands in all the MSS.; the latter, *feriat* for *noceat*, which seems the better reading of the two.

This distich has experienced a fate similar to that of the other writings of Propertius. The earliest MS. of his poems was not found till the middle of the XVth century, when they were drawn forth from beneath some casks in a wine-cellar. These two lines have lain from the first century to the eighteenth, under the ashes of a Volcano.

Perhaps you may be able to point out the author (who does not occur to me) of the following distich:—



which seems to be,

Scribenti mî dictat Amor, mostratque Cupido;
Ah peream! sine te si Deus esse velim.

[1] Propert. iii. 16. 14.

that is,

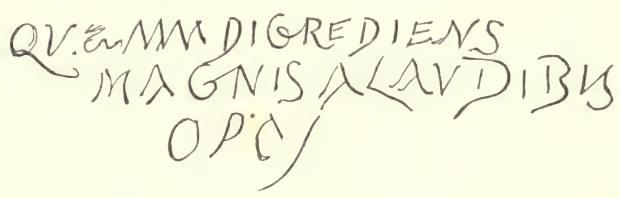
Without thee, *pretium ætas altera sordet.*

The turn of the phrase resembles Virgil's [2] lines to Antonius Musa :—

Dispeream, si te fuerit mihi carior alter ;
Alter enim quis te dulcior esse potest ?

And the sentiment, in which the word *Deus* [3] is used as a term for expressing a state of the *greatest felicity*, reminds us of the φαίνεταί μοι κῆνος ἴσος θεοῖσιν of Sappho, and its version by the Latin poet; and the *si quis in cœlum ascendisset*, naturamque mundi et pulchritudinem siderum perspexisset, *insuavem illam admirationem* ei fore, quæ jucundissima fuisset si aliquem cui narraret habuisset, of Cicero [4] in his De Amicitiâ, and more forcibly of his *Ne vivam* mi Attice, si mihi μακάρων νῆσοι tanti sunt, ut *sine te* sim.

You may also exercise your ingenuity in discovering the author and the sense of the following hexameter :—



Quonam digrediens magnis a laudibus Oppi ?

It is a remonstrance from a client to a pleader in the Law Court who was digressing from his main subject to a minor point in the cause ? So the poet expostulates with himself :—

[2] Catall. xiii. 4.

[3] Terent. Hecyr. v. 4, 3 :—

Deus sum
Si hoc ita est.

[4] C. 23. Ep. Att. xii. 3. Compare Catull. lxv.

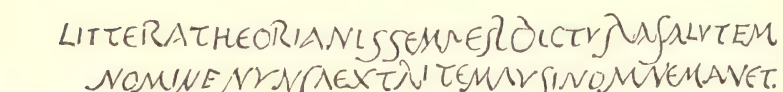
" Nulli se mulier dicit mea nubere malle
Quam mihi, non si se Juppiter ipse petat."

Sed quid ego a primo digressus carmine plura
Commemorem? [5]

This, I say, may be a *remonstrance* to a pleader, as the following distich seems to be an expression of *gratitude* to one, from some client who had gained his cause by his advocate's ability, like that acknowledgment to Cicero for his eloquence from his grateful client Catullus,[6]

Disertisseme Romuli nepotum, &c.

The two lines are



or,

Littera Theorianis semper dictura salutem
Nomine nunc dextri tempus in omne manet.

The sense of which seems to be, that the *littera*[7] *capitalis* ⊙ the initial letter of *θάνατος* (Death) with which the name of Theorianes begins, which was known *before* only as an intimation of death,—the *nigrum theta* of condemned[8] criminals, as the × was of condemned *words*,—had *now*, by the influence of its bearer, who was probably (as Horace calls a good pleader), an "*insigne mœstis præsidium reis*," become a symbol of safety instead of destruction.

As an illustration of the meaning of this letter *theta*, I may be allowed to refer to an inscription, I believe unpublished, which is preserved in the museum at Naples. It is a titulus, or catalogue of a *familia*: it consists of five columns, and is entitled

LIBERTORUM ET FAMIL . . . .

[5] Catull. lxiv. 115.
[6] Catull. xlvi.
[7] Cp. the Littera Longa in Plaut. Aulul. I. i. 38.
[8] Persius, iv. 13. Cf. Martial, vii. 37.
"Nôsti mortiferum Quæstoris, Castrice, signum,
Est operæ pretium discere *theta* novum."

In it occur the names of certain slaves and freedmen, with the ⊙ prefixed, indicating that they were dead, as

⊙ ALEXANDER VIL. (*i. e.* villicus)
⊙ TYRANNUS MEDICUS
⊙ PHŒBUS VIL.

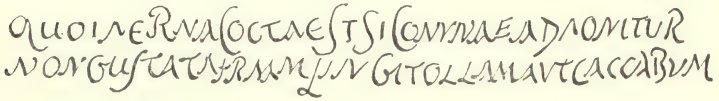
There is also in the same collection a muster-roll of soldiers[9] to which the same observation is applicable: and at Pompeii, on the wall of the corridor between the two theatres,

is still legible. Near the same spot as the last inscription, is a memorial of one of the noblest, bravest, and most eloquent men of his age—one who called Cicero, Horace, Tibullus, and Augustus, friends—Messala. It was probably addressed to him when he was setting out on one of his campaigns, from which he returned covered with glory :—

VALE MESALA FAC ME
AMES

Vale Mesala[1] (sic) *fac me ames.*

The writer of the following iambics, legible on the same wall of the Basilica, seems to have been a second Ofellus, who, when sitting down to his ususl dinner of "*olus fumosæ cum pede pernæ*" (as Horace says), had been surprised, and not very agreeably, by the arrival of an unexpected guest.



that is,

[9] Alexander ab Alex. iii. 5. Per Θ *defunctos* in acie tribunos annotare prodiderunt.

[1] M. Valerius Messala Corvinus, the "fulgentissimus juvenis" of Velleius, ii. 71.

Quoi perna cocta est, si convivæ adponitur,
Non gustat pernam, lingit ollam aut caccabum.[2]

"One who has only a flitch of bacon for his dinner, if it is set before a guest in addition to himself, has nothing to do but to lick his pot or pipkin, i. e. to dine off an empty plate."

Here is a moral maxim, also in iambic verse:—

Minimum malum fit contemnendo maximum,
Quod,[3] *crede mî,* non contemnendo *erit minus.*

Purporting that the smallest evils, by slighting them, become greatest; and the greatest, by not being slighted, become less.

Here another of a similar character and metre,—

which seems to say,

Non est exsilium ex patriâ sapientibus.

You remember the story—rendered famous by the application of Burke—of Diogenes and the people of Sinope. They said, "we banish you from Sinope," and "I," he replied, "banish you." And the "*Omne solum forti patria est*" of Ovid is the subject of that noble speech of John of Gaunt in Shakespeare to his son Henry of Bolingbroke.[4] These last two inscriptions were perhaps left here by some unfortunate defendants, when they quitted the Court after an unfavourable sentence had been passed upon them.

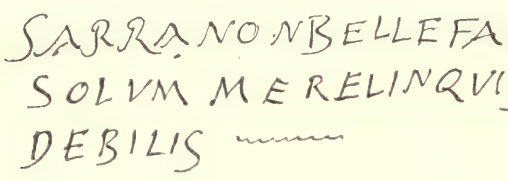
The learned author of "The Introduction to the Litera-

[2] The word κάκκαβος is explained by Casaubon, Athen. i. c. 8, and iv. c. 20, ed. Schæfer. *Olla* and *caccabus* are the words in the Latin version of 1 Sam. ii. 14.

[3] So, perhaps, the hiatus may be supplied.

[4] Cf. Cic. Tus. Quæst. v. 37, where the subject is treated at large.

ture of Europe,[5] Mr. Hallam, in tracing the continuance of Latin in the seventh century, cites what seems to be a song of a female slave in rhymed trochaics, which he considers to be as old as the destruction of the Empire, and which, if so, is a pleasing specimen of the poetry of that time. With that fragment I would compare another very brief one, which you may read here:—

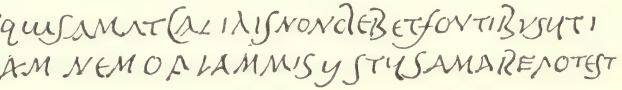


that is,

Sarra non belle facis,
Solum me relinquis:
Debilis * * *

These are, as you see, trochaics, and perhaps meant to be rhymed ones; they show that popular songs in the metre to which that writer alludes, are as old as the Augustan age.[6]

Here is a warning against the use of *calidi fontes*, such as the neighbouring ones of Baiæ or Cumæ, to persons in peculiar circumstances.



Quisquis amat, calidis non debet fontibus uti;
Nam nemo flammis ustus amare potest.

---

[5] Vol. i. p. 31.

[6] Compare

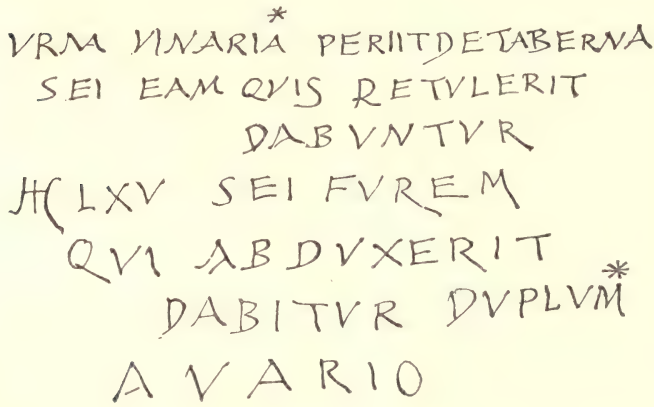
Ego nolo Cæsar esse
Ambulare per pruinas, &c.

and other similar effusions in Suetonius. Cf. Santen. ad Terentian. Maur. p. 182.

All these inscriptions, to which I might add others, exist on the walls of the Basilica.

In leaving this building, in the way to what is called the *Forum Nundinarium*, we pass through a street now termed the Strada de' Teatri.

On the plaster wall of the third house on the right as you descend that street, you see traced in red letters an advertisement concerning the loss of a wine-vessel, which was stolen from this shop in the time of Horace's thieves, Cœlius and Birrhius. It runs thus :—



or,

Urna vinaria periit de tabernâ,
Sei eam quis retulerit
Dabuntur
H.S. LXV; Sei furem,
qui abduxerit,
dabitur duplum
A Vario.

On the use of the word *periit* in the sense of *is lost*, there are some learned observations in Bentley's[7] Remarks on

* These words are doubtful.

[7] P. 275. Cf. the same use of *θνήσκω* in Aristoph. Ran. 983 :—

τὸ τρυβλίον τὸ περυσινὸν
τέθνηκέ μοι.

Free-thinking; but the best illustration, not merely of this word, but of the whole inscription, is that agreeable Elegy of Propertius,[8] in which he advertises the loss of his pocket-book, and gives his own address, on the Esquiline Hill, and offers a reward for its discovery.

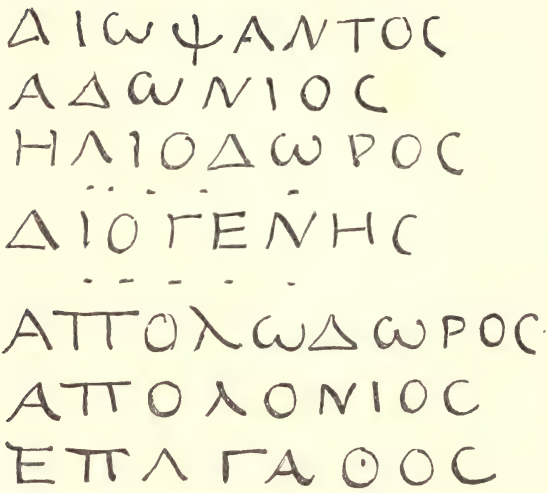
> Ergo tam doctæ nobis *periere* tabellæ,
> Scripta quibus pariter tot *periere bona.*
> * * * * *
> Quas *si quis mihi rettulerit, donabitur auro;*
> Quis pro divitiis ligna retenta velit?
> I, puer, et citus hæc aliqua propone tabella,
> Et dominum Esquiliis scribe habitare tuum.

A similar advertisement,—a parody of course,—is preserved in Petronius,[9] where the notice is given *vivâ voce* by a crier who, instead of a bell, carries a lighted torch, which he shakes to attract notice. It is as follows:—

PUER IN BALNEO ABERRAVIT
SI QUIS EUM REDDERE
AUT COMMONSTRARE
VOLUERIT
ACCIPIET NUMMOS MILLE.

Passing through this street, we arrive at the larger of the two theatres. It is on the right. On the outside of the stage wall, towards the Forum Nundinarium, you will see some ancient names inscribed. They are in *Greek* characters, and, as far as I am aware, in the *only* Greek characters which occur on the walls of Pompeii.[1] Probably they are the names of persons connected with the theatre; and, if so, they lead to the inference, otherwise probable, that *Greek* plays were the favourite dramatic literature of Pompeii. The names are

[8] iii. xxiii.
[9] P. 169.
[1] The *Oscan* inscriptions will be found in Iorio's *Viaggio a Pompei.*



Διώφαντος (*sic*)
Ἀδώνιος
Ἡλιόδωρος
Διογένης
Ἀπολώδωρος (sic)
Ἀπολόνιος (sic)
Ἐπάγαθος

They are not, as you will observe, very correctly written, and were probably inscribed by some theatrical amateur of the place.

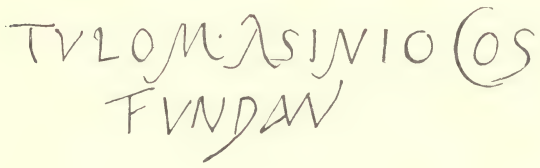
From the theatre of Pompeii we will pass to what now remains of the cellars of its former inhabitants. These are now under the special care of the *custode* of the place. He will unlock for us the curiosities of his *cella promptuaria*. Here you see the *amphoræ* which served to regale the Pompeians of old. To *this* fictile *diota* Horace might have written an ode; *that* may have imbibed the mellowing smoke in the consulship of Tullus: *this* may have remembered the Marsic war; another may have been racked off *capillato consule*. To most of them indeed now

——— *patriam*[2] *titulumque* senectus
Delevit multâ veteris fuligine testæ.

[2] Juvenal, v. 34; Martial, i. 106. Exuit annosâ mores *nomenque* senectâ. Heindorf, Hor. p. 212.

But still there are one or two in the collection which contained wine, whose age we still read inscribed on their terracotta sides, *οὗ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀναγιγνώσκομεν ἐπιγεγραμμένην τοῖς κεραμίοις.*[3]

On one, for instance, we decipher the letters



that is,

[Cosso Cornelio Len]*tulo*
M. Asinio (Agrippa) *Consulibus*
Fundanum.

Indicating that this vessel once held wine made in the year A.D. 25. at Fundi, to the excellence of whose produce Martial bears testimony,—

Hæc *Fundana* tulit felix auctumnus[4] Opimi:

And,

Cæcuba *Fundanis* generosa coquuntur Amyclis,
Vitis et in mediâ nata palude viret.

Pompeii was destroyed on the 25th of August, A.D. 79, so that this wine, if not yet consumed at the time of the city's destruction, was then more than half a century old; about eight years older than that which, born in the same consulship as himself, was reserved by Horace for the entertainment of the generous and learned Messala.[5]

On a second of these *amphoræ* we read,

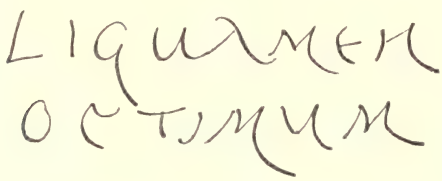
[3] Galen ap. Bentl. Hor. Od. III. xxi. 5. Cf. Petron. p. 59. Amphoræ allatæ quarum in cervicibus pittacia affixa cum hoc titulo, "Falernum Opimianum annorum C." Cf. Turneb. Advers. i. 1.

[4] xiii. 113 and 115. Cf. Harduin. Plin. N. H. xiv. 5. Cæcubo generositas celeberrima in palustribus populetis sinu Amyclano (*near Fundi*).

[5] Ode iii. 21.

On a third,

On a fourth, the tempting title,



Liquamen Optimum!

But, alas! for the curious connoisseur, this "*delicious liquor*" (whatever it may have been, some think it was like anchovy sauce) has been drained *fæce tenus;* and not even does its fragrance remain to tell of its virtue.

Having, my dear P., thus called your attention to some of these vestiges of the manners and feelings of a distant age, I may remark, that we are furnished by these fragments with some curious evidence concerning the poetical taste, pervading, as it seems, the lower orders of the people of the period to which they belong. We receive from them some information too, concerning the orthography and written characters commonly in use in this part of Italy during the Augustan age. We are supplied with a solution in the negative to the question whether a cursive character was

employed in the writings of that period. We are enabled to prove, against the theories of L. Aretino,[6] Cardinal Bembo, Strozza, and the learned Scipio Maffei,[7] that the *vernacular* language of that era did not differ, as they maintain, from the *learned* dialect; and that *no* dialect, as they imagine, similar to the modern Italian, was then familiarly in use. These inferences may be drawn from the specimens now submitted to your notice. They are selected from a larger number which I might have adduced. But I content myself with these examples, which are, I trust, not so copious as to cause you much weariness, and may yet prove sufficient to excite the attention of others who may have opportunities of making additions to their number.

There is one point more, of a more grave and serious kind, on which I may be pardoned for saying a few words. You may perhaps inquire whether there are not *other* specimens of a different character, which, from their nature, I feel it right to *suppress*. There are; and *because* I suppress them, it is due to the cause of truth, which even these trifles serve, not only to confess, but openly to avow this; for a more important inference than any of those to which I have just alluded may be drawn from these instances. I do not conceal their existence; far from it: I profess gratitude to God, by whose terrible visitation this city was overwhelmed, for their very *preservation* during so many centuries to this day. Who laments the existence of such writers as Catullus, Juvenal, and Martial? Who would annihilate them? Nay, if, in their works, the passages did not still survive which are similar to the instances of which I speak as found in this place, blended with efforts of mental vigour, of acuteness, and of poetical power, which those Authors exhibit, a man

[6] Tiraboschi, Storia, iii. 1, page 4. Leonardo Bruni soprannomato l'Aretino erudito e colto scrittore del XV. secolo pensò e lusingossi di dimostrare che la *lingua Italiana* sia *antica* al pari della *Latina*, e che amendue al tempo medesimo fossero usate in Roma: la prima dal rozzo popolo e ne' famigliari ragionamenti; la seconda dai dotti scrivendo e parlando nelle pubbliche assemblee.

[7] Ibid. p. 7, who supposes that the Italian language arose "dall' abbandonare il parlar colto ed elegante, e dall' introdursi il popolar grossolano."

might perhaps wish that he himself had lived in an age eminent for the accomplishments which Literature, Art, and Intellect displayed. But these passages forbid him; they dispel the delusion which Genius and Poetry might produce; they are the dead bones that whiten the isle of the Sirens. They remind him how much we owe to Christianity. And so at Pompeii, surrounded as we are by the brilliant productions of Painting and Sculpture, beautiful even in decay, and by the exquisite remains of the soft refinements with which its ancient inhabitants charmed their voluptuous hours, we might be dazzled by their fascination, and almost wish that we had lived as contemporaries with them. But the Inscriptions to which I allude warn us against indulging in such a vision as that; they show us with what moral depravity these graceful embellishments were allied. Therefore we neither envy them, nor are we prone to believe that man's Art or Intellect will ever reform and regenerate the world. We no longer indulge in such a dream, nor question the justice of Providence which buried Pompeii in the dust. "Cum Deus censor esset," says Tertullian, "Impietas ignium meruit imbres, quo magis de montibus suis Campania timeat erepta Pompeios." [8]

Believe me,

My dear P——,

Yours very truly,

CHR. WORDSWORTH.

The title of Professor Zangemeister's work, to which reference was made above, p. 3, is "Inscriptiones Parietariæ, Pompeianæ, Herculanenses, Stabianæ, consilio et auctoritate Academiæ Litterarum Regiæ Borussicæ edidit Carolus Zangemeister, Berolini, apud Georgium Reimerum, 1871." It forms the fourth Volume of the magnificent work, "Corpus Inscriptionum Latinorum," published under the direction of the Royal Prussian Academy of Literature.

The learned Editor (p. viii) acknowledges that the "Inscriptiones graphio exaratæ" on the walls of Pompeii had been almost entirely neglected till the publication of some of

[8] *Vide* Tertullian de Pallio, p. 7.

them in my Volume, and that after that time "hoc Inscriptionum genus minùs neclegi cœptum," and he bears a friendly testimony to the researches made by me in 1832. Professor Zangemeister himself spent four months at Naples and Pompeii in the year 1865, and examined carefully all the "wall-writings," which either had been taken from Pompeii and were preserved in the Museum at Naples or still remained legible on the walls of Pompeii. His collection of inscriptions is large, and made with great care. It more than fully justifies my remarks above (p. 29) on the moral condition of the population of Pompeii. But with the exception of one or two lines of Virgil (No. 1237, 1527, 1841, 1868, 2213, 2310, 2361) and Lucretius (3072), it does not contain much interesting material, with which I was not already acquainted. I have compared his transcripts, which were made under the most favourable circumstances, with my own, as far as the Inscriptions are concerned which are contained in the foregoing pages, and the results shall be inserted here.

Page 8, line 12, for *tam* Zangemeister reads *tan*.

Page 10, line 16 from bottom, for *Hedysio* Z. [i.e. Zangemeister] reads *Hedysto* (ought it not to be *Hedisto ?*) and doubts as to the last syllable of *Amianthus*.

Page 12, line 12, for Non *es* Z. reads Non *est*.

Page 13, line 13 from bottom, for *Listacidiae*, Z. reads *L. Istacidi at* (i. e. *ad*), so that the sense would be, 'A saying of L. Istacidius (the Istacidii were a Pompeian family), at whose house I do not dine, he is a barbarian to me;' and this seems to be correct.

Page 14, line 11 from bottom, for *Somius* Z. reads *Samius*.

For *Jus pendre* Z. reads *Suspendere*, to hang himself; and this seems right.

Page 15, line 2, for *legi* Z reads *teg*.

Page 16, line 2, for *Ci* Z. reads *Chio*.

Page 16, line 8 from bottom, the inscription *Cosmus*, &c., is represented differently but unintelligibly by Z. No. 1825.

Page 18, line 7 from bottom, for *Ah peream* Z. reads *Dispeream*.

Page 21, line 2 from bottom, for *Quoi perna* Z. reads *Ubi* perna.

Page 22, line 9, Z. reads *Menederumenus* after *maximum*, without any break.

Page 22, line 16, for "*Non est exilium*" &c., Z. reads "*Non est ex albo judex patre Ægyptio.*"

Page 23, line 7 from bottom, for *flammis* Z. reads *flammas*.

Page 24, line 12, for *Vinaria* Z. reads *Ænia*, (qu. *Ænea ?*) and says that the word *abduxerit* does not exist in the inscription: part of which is corroded by time.

While we are on Latin Inscriptions, let me close these remarks by reference to an unexplained passage in Cornelius Nepos with regard to an inscription proposed for the grave of Epaminondas.

Cornelius Nepos, in his life of Epaminondas, is referring, chap. vii., to the act of Epaminondas taking upon himself, with noble magnanimity and generous self-sacrifice, the responsibility of a proceeding in which his colleagues in the military command had been engaged, as well as himself, and which exposed them, as well as him, to a public impeachment, and to consequent capital punishment. They had continued in office, on grounds of emergency, longer than the laws allowed, and they were arraigned accordingly on a charge of high treason.

Epaminondas pleaded guilty, and declared himself ready to submit to the extreme penalties of the law. But in so doing he made one request. And what was it? The original words of Cornelius Nepos are, "unum ab iis petivit, ut in PERICVLO suo inscriberent," that is, he asked that, after his death, they would engrave a certain inscription upon a certain thing, called in the text *periculo* (what that was, we will inquire afterwards), to the effect that "Epaminondas had been put to death by the Thebans because he had forced them to conquer the Lacedæmonians at Leuctra, whom no Theban general had before dared to look in the face; and because in one pitched battle he had not only rescued Thebes from destruction, but had restored all Greece to liberty, and had brought matters to such a point that the Thebans had become the assailants of Sparta, and that the Lacedæmonians

were contented if they could escape unhurt; and that he had not laid down his arms before he had established Messene, and had beleaguered Sparta with a blockade."

Cornelius Nepos adds that when Epaminondas—who was celebrated as an orator (see below, p. 46)—had made this speech the Court burst into laughter, and not a single judge ventured to vote against him, and he came off with flying colours from a capital trial.

But the critical question which has arisen on this passage is, What is the meaning of the word PERICULUM, on which the Inscription proposed by Epaminondas was to be engraved? If we turn to Ælian. Var. Hist. xiii. 42, who tells the same story, the word there is στήλη, and the sense there is, that the request of Epaminondas was, that after he had been put to death by the State, these words should be engraved on his *tomb*. And similarly Appian also (quoted by Perizonius on the passage of Ælian) has εἰς τὸν τάφον, "on his *sepulchre*." Some word therefore similar to στήλη or τάφος seems to have been used by Cornelius Nepos in the paragraph before us. Can we elicit any such word from the present reading *periculo?* Some have conjectured *sepulcro*, but this is too far removed from the text. I suspect that instead of PERICVLO we ought to read FERCVLO, *i. e. bier*. Epaminondas was to suffer death; his body was to be put on a *bier*, and to be carried to the grave; and on the bier certain words, dictated by himself, were to be inscribed, which were to explain the reason of his execution, so that all might know why the greatest captain whom Thebes ever produced had been condemned to death by his own country.

As to the word *ferculum*, used in this sense, we may refer to the narrative of Suetonius in his life of Caligula (cap. 15), where it is related that the newly-created emperor "carried to the mausoleum the ashes of his mother and brother on two FERCULA." And Statius says, describing a noble funeral (Thebaid, vi. 126):—

> "Portant inferias, arsuraque FERCULA primi
> Graiorum."

NOTES IN GREECE.

From Italy we may pass over to Greece. After a tour in Sicily, and a return, through Scylla and Charybdis, to Calabria and a visit to Cannæ and its neighbourhood, and thence by Pæstum to Naples, our journey was over the Apennines to Tarentum and Otranto, whence we embarked for the Ionian Islands (Corfu, Zante, St. Maura, Ithaca, &c.), and so, through Epirus, Thessaly, and Eubœa, to Athens.

From Athens we made an excursion to Delphi, having passed through Thebes, Platææ, Leuctra, Haliartus, Lebadeia, and Ambryssus, in our way thither; and we returned from Delphi through Daulis, Chæroneia, Orchomenus, Lebadeia, Coroneia, Thebes, Delium, and so over the river Asopus, and the passes of Mount Parnes, back to Athens. The overflowings of the Asopus, in the plain of Platææ, were then covered with ice, as at the time of the siege described by Thucydides. I have given some description of those places in my larger book on "Greece."

On our way back from Delphi the cold was severe: it was like one of Hesiod's Bœotian winters. On Mount Parnassus we were detained by a snow-storm. The snow was drifting with incessant violence as we passed the Triodos (where Œdipus encountered his father) in our way to the city of Daulis. The hill on which the citadel of Daulis stands was covered with a deep snow: the cold was too intense to allow of standing still to make a transcript of some ancient inscriptions which are to be seen in a ruined church on its summit. We entered Thebes in a snow-storm which kept

us there for a week. The same cause prevented us from pursuing the ordinary and shortest route from Thebes, that by the pass of Phyle, which was blocked up by snow. We were therefore compelled to follow the long and circuitous route over the high and open plain on the north of the Asopus, which brought us out on the sea-coast, a little to the south of the Euripus.

Thence we followed the shore southward, passing by Delium, and crossing the Asopus, which was swollen to a formidable stream; and then mounting the acclivities of Mount Parnes. Here, however, the snow befriended us. For in passing over these heights, at a distance of a few miles to the north-east of Deceleia, we were waylaid and attacked by two detachments of an armed troop of brigands who then infested this country. I was wounded by one of them, on the shoulder. Providentially we escaped detention in their mountain-haunts—by which other travellers have suffered, for the sake of a ransom—through the inclemency of the season, which rendered access to those mountainous abodes difficult, and residence in them almost impossible. We went from Oropus (now called Oropó) by Rhamnus and Marathon to Athens.

APHIDNÆ.

The Abbé Barthélèmy, whose imaginative "Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis" is a pleasant companion in Greece, promised us on the road from Oropus to Athens, some objects which we could not discover. His ideal travellers, in their journey from Athens to Oropus at the beginning of spring, found, he tells us, the road "sheltered by *bay-tree* groves."[1] Before their arrival at Oropus they visited the

[1] iii. p. 235, chap. xxxiv. "Nous partîmes d'Athènes dans les premiers jours du mois Munychion. Nous arrivâmes le soir même à Orope, par un chemin assez rude, mais *ombragé* en quelques endroit *de bois de lauriers*."

temple of Amphiaraus, which was agreeably situated in the neighbourhood of limpid streams.

The promise of this scenery on the way was derived by the learned Abbé from a supposed assurance of Aristotle's scholar Dicæarchus, who made a Tour in Greece, and some fragments of whose journal still remain. "From Athens," says Dicæarchus (according to the *present* editions of that journal),[2] "εἰς Ὠρωπὸν διὰ ΔΑΦΝΙΔΩΝ καὶ τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου Διὸς ἱεροῦ ὁδὸς ἐλευθέρῳ βαδίζοντι σχεδὸν ἡμέρας πρόσαντα," thus rendered by all the editors: "*From Athens to Oropus is an ascending road of about a day's journey to an expeditious predestrian, which passes through* Bay-Tree *groves, and the Temple of Zeus Amphiaraus.*"

First, as to this Temple of Amphiaraus, its site has been fixed, by aid of ancient inscriptions found on the spot, at about three miles from Apostólus, near a stream in a deep valley which we crossed in our ascent to the modern village of Kalamo.[3]

But with respect to the *other* features of the route—the *Bay-tree* groves can hardly plead as an excuse for their absence, that Time, which has ruined the Temple, has also uprooted them. There is in fact no evidence that they ever existed. They have been planted upon these hills by modern geographers,[4] out of the fertile nursery-garden of a misprint. The word ΔΑΦΝΙΔΩΝ, in the text of Dicæarchus, is an error of his transcribers; it is not Greek; and besides, it may well be asked, What topographer would ever have described a route of about thirty miles, which is the distance of Athens to Oropus, by telling his readers that it passed through "bay-trees and a temple"? To give his description any value some known place or *town* would have been

[2] Dicæarch. p. 11.

[3] See Colonel Leake's valuable Memoir on the Demi of Attica, p. 201 (in Transactions of Royal Soc. of Lit. vol. i.). The inscriptions are now in the British Museum, Nos. 368, 378.

[4] The learned German topographer Kruse also in his work on Greece (Hellas. ii. p. 283) has fallen into the same trap as the French abbé; he speaks of this country as being, "einer Gegend, wo der weisse lehmichte Boden, den schon *Dicæarch* bemerkte, *Lorbeerbäume* auf der Hohen ernährte."

specified in it. Doubtless the passage is corrupt and needs correction. And how is the corruption to be removed? By an easy transposition, changing the unintelligible expression ΔΙΑ ΔΑΦΝΙΔΩΝ into ΔΙ' ΑΦΙΔΝΩΝ, *i. e.* "through APHIDNÆ." The Attic Borough APHIDNÆ was near Deceleia,[5] and Deceleia was in the road from Athens to Oropus,[6] that is, on the road which Dicæarchus is describing. And the verbal confusion of ΑΦΙΔΝΩΝ with ΔΑΦΝΙΔΩΝ was easy for transcribers to make, and was frequently made.[7] Deceleia was 120 stadia from Athens.[8] Hence assuming—from Herodotus compared with Dicæarchus—that Aphidnæ was near Deceleia,[9] whose direction and distance from Athens are known, we are now enable to fix the site of the important fortress APHIDNÆ; the asylum of Helen, the borough of the poet[1] Tyrtæus, and of the two illustrious friends,[2] Harmodius and Aristogeiton. Other topographical consequences may be deduced from this result. The two Attic villages of Perrhidæ[3] and Titacidæ[4] were connected by relationship and vicinity with the town of Aphidnæ. The determination of their positions hangs as a corollary

[5] Herodot. ix. 73. *λέγουσι τοὺς Δεκελέας κατηγήσασθαι ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀφίδνας.*

[6] Thuc. vii. 28. *ἐκ τοῦ Ὠρωποῦ κατὰ γῆν διὰ τῆς Δεκελείας.*

[7] In the passage of Herodotus, for ΑΦΙΔΝΑΣ the Sancroft MS. has the same error, ΑΦΝΙΔΑΣ. This word has been singularly fruitful in this confusion. In Demosth. 238. 17. for *Ἀφίδναν*, Bekker's MSS. S.Q.O. u. have *Ἀφνίδα*, and F.Y. p. v. give *Ἄφνιδα*: again in Plutarch Thes. c. 32. and in Harpocrat. v. *Θυργωνίδαι*, *Ἀφνιδαῖος* was written for *Ἀφιδναῖος* before the edition of Valesius.

[8] Thuc. vii. 19, cf. vii. 18. 27. vi. 93.

[9] Perhaps Callimachus in Frag. ccxxxiv. refers to a summons of Tyrtæus from Deceleia, *Ἀνδρέλεοι Δεκελειόθεν ἀμπρεύοντες*, which may perhaps be corrected thus, *Ἀνδρ' ἀλαὸν κ. τ. λ.*

[1] Cp. Müller's Dorians, i. p. 172.

[2] Plutarch. Sympos. i. qu. x. Whence the peculiar propriety of the reference to their examples in the speech of Miltiades before the battle of Marathon to the General Callimachus, who was an *Aphidnæan*. Herod. vi. 109.

[3] Hesych. in v. *Περρίδαι.*

[4] Steph. Byz. v. *Τιτακίδαι* Cp. Herod. ix. 73, where Helen is *discovered* at Aphidnæ to the Tyndaridæ by Decelus (f. *δείκω*) of Deceleia, and Aphidnæ is betrayed to them by *Titacus* the indigenous monarch (*τίταξ βασιλεὺς*, Hesych.) of the Titacidæ. The modern village of *Tatoi* may, perhaps, preserve in its name a vestige of this demus.

on that now ascertained, of Aphidnæ, their more important and illustrious neighbour.

The position of Aphidnæ thus found reflects light on a decree cited by Demosthenes[5] in his celebrated oration for the Crown. When Philip had advanced south of Thermopylæ and threatened Athens with an invasion, it was enacted that all citizens of Attica who were within 120 stadia of Athens should repair to the Capital, or to the Piræus; and that those who lived at a greater distance than 120 stadia from Athens should remove themselves and their property to Eleusis, Phyle, *Aphidnæ*, Rhamnus, or Sunium. The reader will observe the position of these places, and the order in which they are mentioned; he will perceive that they were the five keys, the *cinque ports* (if we may use the expression of inland as well as maritime places) of Attica, lying beyond the radius specified in the decree.

Wishing to take Rhamnus and Marathon in our way to Athens, we diverged from Kalamo in a south-easterly direction. The route lies over a mountain tract broken iuto frequent ravines by the torrents which fall from the higher summits on our right. It ascends with more or less rapidity, till we arrive near a spot called Gliáthi, on the broad tops of Mount Barnaba. Here is a magnificent view, which extends on the west over the highest ridge of Mount Parnes (Nozià), and catches a glimpse of the shining waters of the Saronic gulf. To the south of us at a small distance were the high peaks of Tirlos. They are probably those of the ancient Brilessus.[6] Beneath us on our left was the strait of the Eubœan sea. The surface of these hills is sprinkled with low shrubs. But there are no timber trees. We may console ourselves for the dreary barrenness of the country, by adopting Plato's belief, that in better days it was shaded by stately trees, now no more.[7]

At Gliáthi, a little to the right of the road, are some well-

[5] P. 238. 17.

[6] There may indeed be some verbal connexion between Mount Barnaba and Parnes (Πάρνηθα accus.) on the one hand, and Tirlos or Trilos and Βριλησσὸς on the other.

[7] Plato. Critia. iii. c. πολλὴν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ὕλην εἶχεν.

preserved remains of an ancient[8] military Tower, constructed with well-joined polygonal stones. It had one entrance looking to the west, which was defended by two doors, one opening inwards, the other outwards. There are also two loopholes in the walls.

This building is an interesting illustration of the importance of the line of communication over these mountains to Athens, the value of which was best proved by its loss. A little to the west of the tower is a spring of water, with the remains of ancient substructions, and a bas-relief lying near it of very good execution, but too much mutilated to warrant any conjecture on its subject.

We proceeded for about three miles till we arrive at the verge of this broad mountain area. It begins to descend towards a plain which communicates with the field of Marathon, and then terminates in the sea.

MARATHON.

After a hour and a half from Rhamnus we reached the plain of Marathon. It was a still afternoon, the sky lowering, and the plain having a dreary aspect; it extends in length six miles along the shore, and rather more than two inland; it looked brown and dry, and had no hedges, and few prominent objects of any kind: here and there was a stunted wild pear-tree, there were some low pines by the sea-shore; and one or two small solitary chapels in ruins rising out of the plain. There was no house visible except on the inland skirts of the plain; and a few peasants ploughing on it at a distance with slow teams of small oxen were the only living creatures to be seen.

In this solitary expanse the eye is arrested by one object, rising above the surface of the plain more conspicuously than anything else. This is the Tumulus which covers the

[8] The dimensions are: Tower 24 ft. square; greatest height about 30 ft. The width of the door at bottom 5 ft. 3 in.; at top 4 ft. 2 in. Windows 2 ft. broad at top. The lintel of the door 8 ft. in length.

bodies of those Athenians who fell in the battle of Marathon. It was wise to bury these Athenian warriors together under such a tomb in the place on which they fell. Every one who finds himself alone with such an object as this, must feel a sense of awe; he may almost realize the power of that solemn adjuration which, in the mouth of Demosthenes, produced an electric thrill in the hearts of the Athenian audience, Μὰ Τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι. Here also stood the trophy of Miltiades, which haunted Themistocles, and would not suffer him to sleep,[9] and had no small effect on the fortunes of Greece at Salamis.

The plain is hemmed in near the sea by a marsh[1] on each side. It was fortunate for Athens that the battle was not fought in the summer, but in the autumn; particularly if that autumn was a rainy one. Pressed in on both sides by these morasses, which then would have been inundated, the Persian force had not free scope to bring its vast multitude to bear. Here they were embarrassed by their own numbers: hence it was, that at these morasses the greatest slaughter of the Persians took place.[2] Hence too these Marshes were honoured with a place in the Athenian pictures of the battle of Marathon: the figures of Minerva and Hercules were exhibited in the frescoes on the walls of the Pœcilè at Athens in the front of the fight,[3] and the water of these Marshes was seen gleaming in the back-ground of the picture.

The *time* of the *day*, as well as the season of the *year* in which the battle was fought, deserves notice. It is men-

[9] Cic. Tusc. Disp. iv. 19.

[1] Callimach. ap. Suid. v. Μαραθών. Callimachus called it ἐννότιον Μαραθῶνα . . . τοῦτεστὶ δίνγρον . . . Schol. Plat. p. 140. Μαραθὼν . . . τραχὺς δυσίππαστος, ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ πηλοὺς, τενάγη, λίμνας. (Some of these scholia evince a personal acquaintance with Attic topography: see p. 105. on διὰ μέσου τείχος.) Herod. vi. 102. seems to speak in rather too unqualified terms, when he calls Marathon ἐπιτηδεώτατον χωρίον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐνιππεῦσαι. It is singular that he does not mention the *marshes* of Marathon.

[2] Pausan. i. 32. 7. λίμνη ἑλώδης . . . τοῖς βαρβάροις τὸν φόνον τὸν πολὺν ἐπὶ τούτῳ συμβῆναι λέγουσι.

[3] Pausan. i. 15.

tioned incidentally by Aristophanes—and the expression seems to be one of traditional gratitude, that the crisis of the victory was in the *evening*,

ἀλλ' ὅμως σφ' ἀπεωσάμεσθα, ξὺν θεοῖς, πρὸς ἑσπέρᾳ.[4]
Heav'n be thanked! we routed them, when first the day began to wane.

That evening was introduced into the scenery of the Athenian recollections of Marathon, just as Aurora and Hesperus, sculptured on the column of Trajan in his Forum at Rome, entered into the representations of his victories, being the symbols of times of day in which those victories were achieved. The hour of the day, combined with the local bearings of the plain of Marathon, may have conduced much to the success of the Athenians. The sun would then have streamed in full and dazzling radiance, so remarkable in the sunsets of Greece, on the faces of their adversaries, and against it the conical tiara of the Persians would have offered little protection.

The ancient topography of the plain has been well illustrated, especially by Colonel Leake. The northern marsh[5] (Δρακονερὰ) is fed mainly by a source anciently called Macaria, from the daughter of Hercules,[6] who devoted herself to death in behalf of the Heracleidæ, before the victory which they gained over the Argive Eurystheus on this plain. Near this fountain was the marshy[7] village of Tricorythus, one of the members of the Marathonian tetrapolis. It seems to have stood on the forked hills above the hamlet of Kato-Suli. It was probably so called from the triple peak[8] on which its citadel was built.

[4] Aristoph. Vesp. 1080. I have *translated* the line into an English *trochaic;* so in other *translations,* in the present paper, I have *adopted ancient metres.*

[5] From its extraordinary abundance called Δρακονερά. Δράκο is in Romaic a common expression for anything marvellous.

[6] Strabo, viii. p. 377. Hercules was the hero of Marathon. The fountain was thus the daughter of the plain: and the mythological story of Macaria probably means nothing more than that this flowing stream rendered a similar service in battle to the Heracleidæ, which the marshes did subsequently to the Athenians in the engagement with the Persians.

[7] Hence Aristoph. Lys. 1032. ἐμπὶς Τρικορυσία.

[8] The term Κόρυθος (from κόρυς a crest) is preserved in the Latin

Skirting westward the inland margin of the plain from its N.W. angle, under the mountain of Stauro-koráki, we came to a stream which flows from a valley on our right; on its right bank are two Albanian villages; on its left rather higher up, is the modern hamlet of Marathóna. This is probably the site of the ancient village of Marathon. The coincidence of the name is a strong argument. There is also a hill above it, part of Stauro-koráki, which on the spot we heard called Δῆλι; and which may suggest a question whether it does not preserve a record of the Temple[9] at Marathon, called Δήλιον, at which sacrifices were offered, before sacred processions embarked for the island of Delos. Further up the same valley is Œnoë, still known by its ancient name.

Returning down the valley, and following the roots of the hills, Kotróni and Argalíki,[1] the former of which is the southern boundary of the valley of Marathóna, the latter of the plain of Marathon, we ended our circuit at the south-east angle of the plain.

This marsh is now called βάλτος[2] and βρεξίσι; terms both indicative of the humidity of the soil. A herdsman here informed us, that the water of the marsh is salt at its eastern extremity, and the salt-water fish come up the stream there in the winter: the upper bank of it afforded pasturage for his own cattle. Pausanias[3] heard nearly the same account of it when he was here.

Probalinthus, the fourth village of the Marathonian tetrapolis, was in this immediate neighbourhood. It is the first of the four mentioned by Strabo in his voyage northward. It

Corythus, the old name of the city Cortona in Etruria: it is another form of the word Κόρινθος, which city Cortona resembles in its lofty peaked acropolis.

[9] Schol. Soph. Œd. Col. 1047. Elmsl.

[1] Which is the mountain of Παραίλεως; ὄρος ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι? (Hesych.)

[2] From ἅλς, as βέλη from ἕλη, &c. βρεξίσι is from βρέχω.

[3] Pausan. i. 32. ῥεῖ ποταμὸς ἐκ τῆς λίμνης, τὰ μὲν πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ λίμνῃ ὕδωρ βοσκήμασιν ἐπιτήδειον παρεχόμενος, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκβολὴν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἰχθύων θαλασσίων πλήρης.

is also in a different tribe from the other three; and that tribe seem to have originally comprised a district to the south of Marathon. Much stress cannot indeed be laid on this circumstance; but perhaps more topographical [4] inferences might be drawn from the arrangement of the Demi in their respective tribes than have yet been attempted.

Oct. 13.

The husband of our Albanian hostess at Zephíri, where we passed the night, was carried off a few nights ago by the klefts into the mountains, and they demanded for his ransom a thousand Turkish piastres, which were to be paid within a stated number of days. Such was then the state to which the inhabitants of the Marathonian plain were reduced. It was impossible, without incurring great risk, to pass over Mount Pentelicus by the usual road from Marathon to Athens. On this account, after visiting the plain a second time this morning, we proceeded along the lower grounds, near the sea. This was said to be the safer road.[5]

Our way lay along a plain covered with arbutus, pines, and lentisk. We passed a stream, and arrived at the village of Epikeráta, in about an hour, from Marathon. Further on is the village of *Κραβάτα*, where, in the church of the Madonna (*Παναγία*), are some sepulchral inscriptions:—

[4] Probalinthus is a *δῆμος* of the Pandionis *φυλή*: in which were Myrrhinus, Prasiæ, Steiria, all locally near to, and south of Probalinthus: Marathon, Œnoë, and Tricorythus are all in the tribe Æantis, which contained also Rhamnus, Aphidnæ, Perrhidæ, Titacidæ, and Psaphidæ, all in the same and more northern district. On the original classification of the demi, from local considerations, see the Dissertation in vol. i. p. 652, of Dr. Arnold's Thucydides and Valck. Herod. iii. 53. Siebel, Paus. i. 1. 3. Thirlwall's Greece, ii. pp. 74, 392. Demi were sometimes removed from one tribe into another. Harpocrat. v. *Θυργωνίδαι*. Niebuhr, R. H. i. p. 407. Müller (Art. Attika in Ersch. and Gruber Encycl. p. 227) observes, "Da nun die Kleisthenischen Phylen chorographisch waren, wie in Griechenland eben auch die Eleischen (Pausan. 5. 9) die Ephesischen (Steph. *βέννα*) die der Laconischen Periöken (Orchomenos, p. 314), so müssen die Demen einer Phyle wie Ortschaften eines Kreises zusammen gelegen haben."

[5] A Greek who left Marathon the same morning as we did, but crossed Mount Pentelicus, was stopped by klefts, and plundered, as he informed us the morning after our arrival at Athens.

ΝΙΚΩΝ
ΤΕΩΝΟΣ
ΓΑΡΓΗΤΤΙΟΣ

Nicon the Son of Teon, of Gargettus.

ΤΕΩΝ
ΝΙΚΩΝΟΣ
ΓΑΡΓΗΤΤΙΟΣ

ΦΑΝΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ

These are the only villages on the road. After a ride of eight hours and a half, we arrived in the dark at the eastern gate of Athens.

ATHENS—THE ACROPOLIS.

A PECULIAR interest belongs to the door of St. Peter's Church at Rome, which is opened by the hand of the Pope to admit into the church the crowds of the periodic Jubilee, and at all other times remains shut. What a deep and strong tide of feeling has flowed through that entrance! Here we stand before the PROPYLÆA of the Athenian Acropolis. Through the central door of this building moved the periodic processions of the Panathenaic Jubilee. The marks of their chariot wheels are still visible on the stone floor of its entrance; and in the narrow space between those two deep lines in the pavement, the feet of the noblest Athenians, since the age of Pericles, have trod.

Here, above all places at Athens, the mind of the traveller enjoys exquisite delight. It seems as if this portal had been spared, in order that the Imagination might send through it, as through a triumphal arch, all the glories of Athenian Antiquity in visible parade. In our visions of that spectacle we may unroll the long Panathenaic frieze of Phidias, trans-

ferring the procession of sculptural figures from their place on the marble walls of the cella of the Parthenon, in order that, endued with real life, they may move through this splendid avenue.

The erection of the Propylæa was commenced at the most brilliant period of Athenian history. The year itself, the archonship of Euthymenes, B.C. 437, in which the enterprise was undertaken, seems to have been proverbial for sumptuous conceptions.[6] The Propylæa, constructed of Pentelic marble, after the design of Mnesicles, were completed in five years: and, henceforth, were always appealed to as the proudest ornaments of the Athenian city.

The day in which it should be their lot to guide their festal Car in the sacred procession through this doorway into the Citadel[7] was held out to their aspiring sons by fond mothers as one of the most glorious in their future career. Even national enemies paid homage to the magnificence of the fabric: and when in the Theban assembly, the noble Epaminondas intended to convey to his audience that they must struggle to transfer the glory of Athens to Thebes, he thus eloquently expressed that sentiment: "O men of Thebes, you must *uproot the Propylæa* of the Athenian Acropolis,[8] and plant them in front of the Theban

[6] For it seems probable that this character for its profuse expenditure, as well as the distance of the epoch, recommended the year of Euthymenes to the choice of Aristophanes in Acharn. 67.

ἐπέμψαθ' ἡμᾶς ὡς βασιλέα τὸν μέγαν
μισθὸν φέροντας δύο δραχμὰς τῆς ἡμέρας
ἐπ' Εὐθυμένους ἄρχοντος. . . .

i. e. in the most lavish times.

[7] Arist. Nub. 69.

ὅταν σὺ μέγας ὢν ἅρμ' ἐλαύνῃς πρὸς Πόλιν,
When you grow up a man, and drive your car
Up to the Citadel.

[8] Æschines. π. π. 29. Compare the catalogue of the mirabilia of Athens in Phœnic. Athenæi 652. e. whence it may be inferred that the Propylæa were sometimes simply termed Πύλαι, as the old entrance was by Herod. viii. 52, and that this was the case in the times of Alexis (Ath. 336. e).

τί ταῦτα λῃρεῖς φληναφῶν ἄνω κάτω
Λυκεῖον, Ἀκαδήμειαν, Ὠιδεῖον, Πύλας,
λήρους σοφιστῶν; οὐδὲ ἓν τούτων καλόν.

The Propylæa could hardly have been omitted here. The *pediment* of the

Citadel." How much is it to be regretted that we have no remains of the orations of one who spoke thus![9]

The Propylæa stood like a splendid frontispiece, a τηλαυγὲς πρόσωπον, of the Athenian Citadel. If we might compare the whole Acropolis to one of our own Christian Minsters planted on a hill, the Propylæa were its West Door. It was this particular point at Athens which was most admired by Athenians, nor is this surprising. Let us conceive such a restoration of this fabric as its surviving fragments suggest; let us imagine it renewed in its pristine beauty; let it rise once more in the full dignity of its youthful stature, let all its architectural decorations be fresh and perfect, let their mouldings be again brilliant with glowing tints of red and blue, let the coffers of its soffits be again spangled with stars, and the white marble antæ be fringed over, as they were once, with delicate embroidery of ivy leaf, let it be in such a lovely day as the present day of November—and then let the bronze valves of these five gates of the Propylæa be suddenly flung open, and all the splendours of the interior of the Acropolis burst suddenly upon the view,—

> ὄψεσθε δέ· καὶ γὰρ ἀνοιγνυμένων ψόφος ἤδη τῶν Προπυλαίων,
> ἀλλ' ὀλολύξατε φαινομέναισιν ταῖς ἀρχαίαισιν Ἀθήναις,
> καὶ θαυμασταῖς καὶ πολυύμνοις, ἵν' ὁ κλεινὸς Δῆμος ἐνοικεῖ.[1]

But ye shall see! for the opening doors I hear of the Propylæa,
Shout, shout aloud! at the view which appears of the old time-honour'd Athenæ,
Wondrous in sight, and famous in song, where the noble Demus *abideth.*

But let us return to what still exists.

Propylæa seems to have attracted especial admiration. See Bekker's Anecd. p. 202, 20, and 348, 3. in ἀετὸς προπύλαιος. See also the remarkable passage in Cic. de Repub. iii. 32. Num aut vetus gloria (Athenarum) aut species præclara Oppidi, aut Theatrum, Gymnasia, Porticus, aut Propylæa nobilia, aut Arx, aut admiranda opera Phidiæ, aut Piræus ille magnificus Rempublicam efficiebant?

[9] Nepos, Vit. Epaminon. v. says of Epaminondas, Fuit *disertus*, ut nemo Thebanus ei par esset eloquentiâ. See above, p. 32, for another specimen.

[1] Aristoph. Equites, 1326.

On the PARTHENON we may not venture to say much. Even were it possible, it would be needless to do so. The Essay upon it written by the architect Ictinus who erected this fabric under Pericles, B.C. 438, would probably add but little to our architectural knowledge of the Parthenon. In this respect material works constructed by regular laws and canons have an advantage over the freer productions of the intellect. The methodical organization of architectural structure gives them an element of permanence. From the parts of the Parthenon still standing, from its fragments scattered on the ground, from the tints with which its marble mouldings are still faintly veined, the skilful Architect by his inductive ingenuity may restore the Temple to its original beauty of symmetry and colour. Even an inexpert observer may form some conjecture as to its original form and character from the same data. The mæander which he descries winding beneath the cornice, the honey-suckle ornament sprouting below the pediment, the shattered plate-band of a triglyph which he lights upon tinted with azure, and the guttæ of the same hue,[9]—looking like real rain-drops—the bronze nails under the triglyphs on the south side, on which festoons (ἔγκαρποι) were hung on days of festive solemnity; these and some other vestiges of a similar kind, may furnish him with sufficient data wherewith to construct in his mind a Parthenon of his own ;—

Quale te dicet tamen
Antehac fuisse, *tales cum sint reliquiæ!*

But how shall he describe
Thy Perfectness, when such Thy Ruins are!

Some of the *sculptured* parts however of this building will baffle all his processes of restoration. The attempt to *infer* the treatment and details of the alto-rilievo group which once

[2] On this application of Painting to Architecture, as exemplified in the *Parthenon*, see Kugler über die *Polychromie* der Griechen, p. 87, of the translation by Mr. W. R. Hamilton, inserted in the Transactions of British Architects, 1835; and Steiglitz, Baukunst, p. 295. The Parthenon has been described with minute accuracy by Mr. Penrose. A valuable contribution has been also made by Mr. Pennethorne.

occupied the *eastern* pediment, from the portions of it that remain,—and which represented the birth of Minerva from the head of Jupiter—would be as futile an attempt as that to reconstruct an Athenian Tragedy from a few fragmentary lines. The group of the *western* pediment has been more fortunate. From the parts of it which survive, its subject—the contest of Minerva with Neptune for the dominion of Athens—and the manner in which that subject was treated, have been fully developed.[3]

One of the vestiges in the fabric of the Parthenon, though of a very different and less obtrusive kind, possesses a peculiar interest. At Pompeii, the impression of the ancient cyathus that is at this day visible on the marble slab of the shop in one of the streets, is one of those incidents,—touching perhaps more sensibly because its touch is so slight—which makes the spectator feel toward the old inhabitants of that place as toward acquaintances who have just left him. This, feeling, and more than this, arises in the mind, when we look on the eastern front of the Parthenon, and see beneath its metopes the impressions left there by the round shields once attached to that part of its marble face. Beneath them are visible the traces of the inscriptions which recorded the names of those by whom those shields in battle had been worn, and by whom they had been won. Let us not pretend to the ingenuity which has recovered a long sentence on the portico of the Maison Carrée at Nismes from the holes left by the bronze nails with which the letters of that sentence were attached to the temple, however much we should wish to be informed who, in the present case, the persons commemorated were.

There is reason to think that these shields, of which we now see the impressions, had caught the eye of Euripides, and that they suggested the beautiful expressions, by the

[3] By Müller, de Parthenonis Fastigio, in his Comment de Phidiæ Vita, p. 75. sqq. with a sketch of a proposed restoration. See also Col. Leake's Memoir on the Disputed Positions in Athens, p. 40. Topography, p. 536, and Welcker in *Classical Museum*, ii. 367; vi. 279, and Mr. Lloyd, *ibid.* v. 396.

mouth of his chorus, of a wish[4] for repose and tranquillity which, as might be expected in a long war, he deeply felt;—

κείσθω δόρυ μοι μίτον ἀμφιπλέκειν
ἀράχναις, μετὰ δ' ἡσυχίας πολιῷ
γήρᾳ ξυνοικοίην·
ἀείδοιμι δὲ στεφάνοις κάρα
πολιὸν στεφανώσας,
Θρηϊκίαν πέλταν πρὸς Ἀθάνας
περικίοσιν ἀγκρεμάσας θαλάμοις.[5]

May my spear idle lie, and spiders spin
Their webs about it! May I, oh may I, pass
My hoary age in peace!—
Then let me chant my melodies, and crown
My grey hairs with a chaplet;
And hang my spoils, a Thracian target, high
Above the columns of MINERVA'S *fane!*

The chorus which sang these lines as it danced in the orchestra beneath us, perhaps pointed to this Temple and to these shields from the Theatre, which is below the eastern front of the Parthenon on which they were hung. The Parthenon was the only Temple of Minerva (will the reader kindly pardon my use of the name *Minerva* instead of *Athenè?*) at Athens to which the attribute of a peristyle (περικίονες θάλαμοι) could be ascribed, as here, by Euripides.

Let us here notice one other expression of the same poet, which receives similar illustration from the remaining architectural members of this temple. Agavë, in his Bacchæ,[6] bearing the head of Pentheus, calls, in her fit of phrensy, for Pentheus, in order, as she says,—

ὡς πασσαλεύσῃ κρᾶτα τριγλύφοις τόδε
Λέοντος, ὃν πάρειμι θηράσασ' ἐγώ.[7]

That on the triglyphs I may plant
Here this grim Lion's head, my spoil to-day.

The marble *lion-head* antefixa, which terminate the north-

[4] See this longing expressed in his Supplices, v. 487.
[5] Eurip. Erechth. ap. Stob. ii. p. 403. Gaisford.
[6] Eurip. Bacch. 1206.
[7] Vitruv. iii. In cymis *capita Leonina* sunt scalpenda.

ern angles of the western pediments of the Parthenon, and are usual ornaments in other parts of such a building, indicate that Euripides has not neglected one of the most pathetic features of madness—its partial saneness and sense of propriety.

With respect to the *name* of the *Parthenon,* it seems to have originated from two causes: first, for the sake of distinction, and next as recording the peculiar grounds on which this temple was dedicated. The Minerva of *this* temple was to be distinguished from the Minerva Polias, her immediate neighbour; and the title of *Parthenos* or Virgin[8] was assigned to the Minerva who occupied *this* temple, in order to designate her invincibility, an attribute which this temple was designed to declare. Hence the portion of it in which the statue of Minerva Parthenos, executed in gold and ivory by Phidias, was enshrined, was more especially termed the *Parthenon,* as being the more intimate abode of her presence. As such this adytum or lesser Parthenon is contrasted with the Hecatompedon,[9] which is properly the eastern division of the cella of the temple, and of which this lesser Parthenon is only a part; just as the Hecatompedon is contrasted with the whole temple or Parthenon, of which it is a part likewise. Hence also, the Opisthodomus or western division of the cella, in which division the treasure of the city was kept, is described as being behind the goddess herself (*ὀπίσω τῆς θεοῦ*) because it was immediately behind her statue. There was,

[8] When the Parthenon was converted into a Christian Church, as it appears to have been, in the fifth or sixth century, it was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. It was changed into a mosque by the Turks who conquered Athens in June, 1456.

[9] Boeck, Inscr. p. 177. Hence the whole temple was sometimes called *Παρθενὼν ἑκατόμπεδος.* Plutarch v. Cat. ii. p. 555. Pericl. i. p. 619. and the remarkable passage de Glor. Athen. vii. p. 377, where Plutarch is summing up the splendid results of Athenian conquests, which are *ὅλαι πόλεις, καὶ νῆσοι, καὶ ἤπειροι καὶ νηχοτάλαντοι, καὶ λάφυρα, ὧν ἀγάλματα καὶ σύμβολα, παρθενῶνες ἑκατόμπεδοι, νότια τείχη, νεώσοικοι, Προπύλαια.* Let me take this opportunity of suggesting *ἤπειροι καναχοτάλαντοι* in lieu of the unintelligible words in the text; *χρυσοῦ καναχὴ* is an expression well known from Soph. Antig. 130. whence *ἤπειρος καναχοτάλαντος* would be a country, "*auro quæ plurima fluxit.*" See Blomf. Gloss. Choeph. 146, and Apollon. Argonaut. iii. 71.

no doubt, design in this arrangement. For thus the Athenian goddess stood as a sentinel at the door of the Athenian Treasury. The external columns of the posticum were united by a bronze railing.

The question has been asked, whether the Parthenon was *hypæthral*, or open to the air? This is an architectural point on which professional judges must decide.[1] There seems to be no doubt that the *peristyle* was covered with a marble roof; and it would seem that the beautiful objects which it contained would be thought to be entitled to more light than could be admitted by the door, without, however, being exposed to the rain. We may offer as a conjecture, that the *cella* was not roofed but protected by an extended awning or velarium, worked with embroidery. This supposition is suggested by a passage in the Ion of Euripides[2] which seems to allude to the structure of the Parthenon. In the building there erected, which is a copy of the Parthenon, we have this provision made for the *roof*,

> λαβὼν ὑφάσμαθ' ἱερὰ θησαυρῶν πάρα
> κατεσκίαζε, θαύματ' ἀνθρώποις ὁρᾶν·
> ἐνῆν δ' ὑφανταὶ γράμμασιν τοιαίδ' ὑφαί·
>
> *He brought the hangings from the Temple's store,*
> *And spread them over-head, a wondrous sight,*
> *In which were woven these embroideries.*

The site of the Parthenon is the highest point of the city. It is also the centre of the Acropolis, as the Acropolis was of Athens. Northward from it, the City itself, and beyond it the plain of Athens, formed into a great peninsula by mountains, lay before the view of the ancient Athenians. The eye having been sated with the splendour of the objects in the city below it, might raise itself gradually, and passing northward over corn-fields and vineyards, farms and villages, such as Colonus or Acharnæ, might repose upon some object lurking in the distant hills, upon the dark pass of Phylë,

[1] See the works of Hermann, Ross, and Bötticher on this subject, quoted in a valuable article in Dr. Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography, i. p. 274.

[2] V. 1143.

or the solitary towers of Deceleia. Then also there were appropriate living objects to enliven the scene. There would be rural sights, such as Aristophanes describes, of husbandmen issuing forth from their homesteads with their wains and cattle into the fields, with their implements of agriculture shining in the sun, at the conclusion of a long war:[3] perhaps a festal procession might be disappearing in a distant sacred grove. All this has vanished, and now from this point, here and there a solitary Albanian peasant is seen following[4] his mule laden with faggots along the road into the town; and the most cheerful sight in the plain before us, is that of the thick wood of olives still growing on the site of the Academy toward the left, and looking like a silver sea rippling in the autumnal breeze.[5]

THE AREOPAGUS AT ATHENS.

Sixteen stone steps cut in the rock, at its south-east angle, lead up to the hill of the Areopagus from the valley of the Agora, which lies between it and the Pnyx. This angle seems to be the point of the hill on which the Council of the Areopagus sat. Immediately above the steps, on the level of the hill, is a bench of stone excavated in the lime-stone rock, forming three sides of a quadrangle, like a triclinium: it faces the south; on its east and west side is a raised block; the former may perhaps have been the tribunal, the two latter the rude stones which Pausanias saw here, and which

[3] As in the Peace of Aristophanes, 555.

[4] This was forty-six years ago.

[5] The prospect (ἄποψις) which the Parthenon commands, has called forth much admiration. Aristides well describes this view, especially the πεδίων κάλλη καὶ χάριτας πρὸ τῆς πόλεως εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως κεχυμένων. It will serve to restore the right reading to Dicæarchus, Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν πολυτελὲς, ἀπόβιον, ἄξιον θέας, ὁ καλούμενος Παρθενὼν, ὑπερκείμενος τοῦ θεάτρου. The corrupt word ἀπόβιον should probably be changed into ἀπόψιον.

are described by Euripides[6] as assigned, the one to the accuser, the other to the criminal, in the causes tried in this Court. There the Areopagites, distinguished by their character, rank, and official dignity, sat as judges, on a rocky hill in the open air.[7]

On the Areopagus are ruins of a small church dedicated to S. Dionysius the Areopagite, and commemorating his conversion here by S. Paul[8] who once stood in the centre of this platform. The Apostle was brought, perhaps up these steps of rock which are the natural access to the summit, from the Agora below, in which he had been conversing, to give an account of the doctrines which he preached, on the Areopagus, probably so chosen as an open space where many might listen at their ease, and also as being the tribunal for trying capital offences, especially in matters of religion.[9] Here, placed as he was, he might well describe the city of Athens as he did. With its buildings at his feet, and its statues and temples around him, he might well say from ocular demonstration, that the city was *κατείδωλος*, crowded with idols, and devoted to them.[1]

The temple of the Eumenides was immediately below him;

[6] Pausan. i. 28, 5. Eurip. Iph. T. 962. Orestes says,—

ὡς εἰς Ἄρειον ὄχθον ἥκον, ἐς δίκην δ'
ἔστην, ἐγὼ μὲν θάτερον λαβὼν βάθρον,
τὸ δ' ἄλλο πρέσβειρ' ἥπερ ἦν Ἐρινύων.

When we had mounted to the hill of Ares,
We scaled two adverse steps; I took the one,
The eldest of the Furies trod the other.

[7] J. Pollux. viii. 10, *ὑπαίθριοι ἐδίκαζον.*

[8] Act. Apost. xvii. 34.

[9] *Διὰ τί εἰς Ἄρειον πάγον αὐτὸν εἷλκον; ὡς καταπλήξοντες, ἔνθα τὰς φονικὰς δίκας ἐδίκαζον.* S. Chrysostom ad Act. Apostol. l. c.

[1] Athens was emphatically *a city of Gods*, *πόλις θεῶν*. In the animated description of Hegesias quoted by Strabo (396, b.) *ἐκεῖνο Λεωκόριον, τοῦτο Θησεῖον, . . . οὐ δύναμαι δηλῶσαι καθ' ἕν ἕκαστον· ἡ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ ΘΕΩΝ ἐστὶ κτίσμα καὶ προγόνων ἡρώων.* A passage, it may be observed, which throws light upon the very similar expressions of Strabo which follow it (p. 396, d.): *ἐπ' ἄλλων πλειόνων ἐστὶν ἱστορεῖν πολλὰ, καὶ εἰς τὸ Λεωκόριον καὶ τὸ Θησεῖον· ΟΥΣ ἔχει καὶ τὸ Λύκειον καὶ τὸ Ὀλυμπιεῖον,*—where instead of the present reading ΟΥΣ, the word ΘΥΣ (i. e. *θεοὺς*) seems to be required in the text. Concerning this *confusion*, see Bentley on Free-thinking, p. 118, and Bast. Palæog. p. 812.

the Parthenon of Minerva faced him from above. Their presence seemed to challenge his assertion ὅτι οὐκ ἐν χειροποιήτοις ναοῖς κατοικεῖ ὁ Θεός, *that in* TEMPLES *made by hands the Deity does not dwell.* In front of him, towering over the city from its pedestal on the rock of the Acropolis (as the Borromean Colossus, which at this day with outstretched hand gives its benediction to the low village of Arona, or as the brazen statue of the armed Angel, which, from the summit of the Castel S. Angelo, spreads its wings over the city of Rome), was the bronze Colossus of Minerva, armed with spear, shield and helmet, the Champion of Athens. Standing almost beneath its shade, the courageous Apostle proclaimed aloud, that the Deity is not to be likened to that work of Phidias, or to other forms in "gold, silver, or stone, graven by art and man's device," which peopled the scene before him.

The remark therefore which has been made[2] on the skilful adaptation of S. Paul's oration to the *audience* which he was addressing, is equally applicable to its congruity with the *place* in which he was addressing them. Nothing could present a grander, and if we may so speak, a more *picturesque* illustration of his subject than the temples, statues, altars, and other objects by which he was surrounded. The scenery of Raffaelle's cartoon[3] of S. Paul preaching at Athens, noble in some respects as it is, is very unworthy of the original.

On the eastern extremity of the Areopagus the Persians[4] encamped under the command of Xerxes before the Acropolis, which was most accessible from this quarter. It is probable, that this fact induced the Athenian poet and warrior Æschylus to place the besieging Amazons in the same spot. The History of Athens appears to have thrown its shadow backward on Athenian Mythology, as its Mythology has projected its own shadow over Athenian History. The conflicts of Amazons with Athenians described on the stage, and

[2] By Bentley, Sermon ii., and Hemsterhus. Orat. de Paulo Apostolo, p. 24.

[3] Raffaelle's cartoon is unhappily filled with buildings in *Roman* style —showing how little was then known in Italy of *Greek* architecture.

[4] Herod. viii. 52.

painted[5] by Micon and others in frescoes, and sculptured with such profusion on the friezes of temples at Athens, were not thus treated merely on account of their interest or beauty, but were intended to allude, with the indirect delicacy characteristic of Athenian art, to Athenian[6] struggles with the Persians, to whom in costume, habit, and extraction, as well as in their object and its result, the Amazons were conceived to bear a near resemblance. And if so, the reason is evident, why, above all persons,[7] Æschylus, to whom his share in the battle of Marathon[8] against the Persians appeared more glorious than his dramatic triumphs, has preferred the particular etymology by which he has explained the name of the Areopagus.

The decrees of the Roman Senate derived some of their authority from being passed in a consecrated building, And at Athens it was an ingenious device of policy to connect the Council and Court of the Areopagus with the religious worship of the Eumenides. The devotional awe, with which the latter were regarded, was thus extended to the former. It was consecrated by this union. The design of blending the interests and safety of the Tribunal, with the awfulness

[5] See Arrian, Exped. Alex. vii. p. 470. Blancard. *γέγραπται ἡ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἀμαζόνων μάχη πρὸς Κίμωνος*, where we ought to read by transposition of two letters, *Μίκωνος*. The reference is to the sculptor Micon: see Aristoph. Lys. 678. *τὰς Ἀμάζονας σκόπει, ἃς Μίκων ἔγραψ' ἐφ' ἵππων.*

[6] Thus the figure of Paris in the Æginetan pediment was a copy of a Persian archer. See Müller, Phid. Vit. p. 58, and a further analogy in a monument illustrated by Millingen (Uned. Mon. ii. p. 15).

[7] Eumenid. 655.

πάγον δ' Ἄρειον τόνδ', Ἀμαζόνων ἕδραν,

when they besieged the Acropolis,

Ἄρει δ' ἔθυον ἔνθεν ἐστ' ἐπώνυμος
πέτρα πάγος τ' Ἄρειος . . . .

Putting this passage of Æschylus together with that of Cleidemus in Plutarch, Vit. Thes. cxxvii., we may be led to think that the Amazoneum of which the latter speaks was on the Areopagus. Here stood the left wing of the Amazons: their right was on the Pnyx: the Athenians opposed them from the Museum: the dead fell near the Peiraic Gate: this, therefore, was between the Museum and Pnyx, and there it should be placed in the map.

[8] Pausan. i. 14, 5.

of the temple, is seen in the position of both. Some wise well-wisher to the Areopagus placed the shrine of the Eumenides immediately at the foot of this hill.[9]

The exact position of this temple, if temple it may be called, is at the N.E. angle of the Areopagus, at its base. There is a wide, long chasm there formed by split rocks, through which we enter a gloomy recess. Here is a fountain of very dark water. A female peasant, whom I met here with her pitcher in the very adytum of the Eumenides said that the source flows during the summer (*τρέχει τὸ καλοκαῖρι*), and that it is esteemed for its medicinal virtues: it is known by the name *Karasou*, which signifies (in Turkish), I was informed, *black water*.

It is unnecessary to repeat the proofs[1] that have been given by others that this is the *site* of the temple of the Semnai or Eumenides. That this dark recess and fountain formed, with a few artificial additions, the very temple itself seems to be equally certain. The character of the temple is described by ancient authors with the same clearness as its position, and the spot in which we are corresponds with these descriptions. Here is the chasm of the earth; here the subterranean chamber; here the source of water,[2]—which were its characteristics.[3]

This perhaps is the scene of that solemn and affecting narrative in the Œdipus Colonëus of Sophocles which describes the last moments, the death and burial, of Œdipus.[4]

The place was well adapted to the awful character of the deities to whom it was consecrated: the torches with which the Eumenides[5] were afterwards furnished as a

[9] It has been attributed to Epimenides: but a temple of the Furies stood here before his visit to Athens. Compare Thuc. i. 126. Plut. Sol. 12.

[1] See Dobree, Adversar. i. p. 47. Müller, Eumenid. p. 179, and in his Appendix to Leake, p. 454.

[2] Perhaps alluded to Soph. Œd. Col. 157.

[3] Eur. Elect. 1272. *πάγον παρ' αὐτὸν χάσμα δύσονται χθονός.* Æsch. Eumen. 908. *θάλαμοι · · · · κατὰ γῆς.*

[4] The tomb of Œdipus was between the Acropolis and Areopagus. Valer. Max. 3. Sophocles appears to have blended the scenery of the Temple of the Eumenides at Colonus with that of their Temple at Athens.

[5] Aristoph. Plut. 424. Cicero de Leg. i. 14.

poetic attribute, perhaps owed their origin to the darkness of this Athenian temple in which those goddesses were enshrined. Æschylus[6] imagined the procession which escorted the Eumenides to this Temple, as descending the rocky steps above described from the platform of the Areopagus, then winding round the eastern angle of that hill, and conducting them with the sound of music and the glare of torches along this rocky ravine to this dark enclosure. In his time the contrast of the silence and gloom of this sacred place with the noise and splendour of the City, in the heart of which it was, must have been inexpressibly solemn. When I was there in 1832, the temple and its neighbourhood were both desolate and still.

THE STRAITS OF SALAMIS.

Alciphron,[7] in one of those imaginary letters which he has written in the names of illustrious correspondents, while addressing himself, in the person of Menander, to Glycera, informs her that he has just declined a pressing invitation which he had received from King Ptolemy to visit Egypt, and he tells Glycera the reasons which had induced him to do so, she being supposed to be at Athens, while the poet is writing from the Peiræus.

Nothing, he says, in Egypt would console him for the loss of those objects which, by going thither, he would leave behind him at Athens. He derives an argument for his reluctance to leave home, from the spot where he is writing. There were before his eyes local objects of powerful interest, which he loved to contemplate—scenes of beauty and glory such as no other country could equal; *ποῦ γὰρ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ*, —according to the *present editions* of Alciphron he is re-

[6] Eum. 908.

πρὸς φῶς ἱερὸν τῶνδε προπομπῶν
κατὰ γῆς σύμεναι.

[7] Lib. ii. ep. 3; and in Menander, p. 342, ed. Meineke.

presented as saying, "for where in Ægypt, shall I see such objects as I see here (near Athens)? Where else shall I behold *τὰ μυστήρια, τὴν γειτνιῶσαν Σαλαμῖνα, τὰ* ΣΤΗΝΑ, *τὴν Ψυττάλειαν . . . ὅλην ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις τὴν Ἑλλάδα; the Eleusinian Mysteries, the neighbouring Salamis * * * * the island of Psyttaleia . . . in a word, the whole of Greece in Athens?*"

This passage of Alciphron suggests itself for notice, partly as exhibiting to our view the same objects as meet the eye of the spectator on the shores of the Peiræus, and also as throwing some light on the circumstances of the battle of Salamis, which took place in sight of these shores.

But before we can employ it to illustrate the circumstances of that event, or the topography of this region, the passage itself requires some illustration. The words *τὰ* **ΣΤΗΝΑ** are corrupt and require correction, and several emendations have been proposed for them,[8] but not with much success. The true reading is *τὰ* **ΣΤΕΝΑ**. The place in which the battle of Salamis was fought could not be more properly designated than by this simple name, *Τὰ Στενὰ*, the Straits.

It was called peculiarly *the* Straits, as the noblest scene of Athenian valour; and it was their *straitness*, to which the Athenians were indebted for an opportunity of displaying that valour against a hostile force which (as at Marathon) was there embarrassed by its magnitude.[9]

Hence it was that when the Athenians expressed their grateful acknowledgments to Themistocles, through whose ingenuity and courage the splendid result of the battle of Salamis was realized, they did so because, in the language of Thucydides, *αἰτιώτατος ἐν Τῷ* ΣΤΕΝΩΙ[1] *ναυμαχῆσαι ἐγένετο,*

[8] *στήνια* is suggested, as a correction, by Dorville, Chariton. p. 449; and *Σιλήνια* by Meineke, Menand. p. 346.

[9] C. Nepos, V. Themist. 4. Barbarus adeo ANGUSTO mari conflixit (Æschyl. Pers. 412. *πλῆθος ἐν στενῷ νεῶν ἤθροιστο*) ut ejus multitudo navium explicari non potuerit.

[1] Thuc. i. 74. Comp. Themistocl. Apophtheg. H. St. 98, *μὴ πείθων ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην ἐν* ΤΟΙΣ ΣΤΕΝΟΙΣ *ναυμαχῆσαι κρύφα πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον ἔπεμψε.* Plutarch, Vit. Themist. p. 463. *βαρέως φέρων ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς εἰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου καὶ* ΤΩΝ ΣΤΕΝΩΝ *προέμενοι βοήθειαν,*

ὅπερ σαφέστατα ἔσωσε τὰ πράγματα . . . it was mainly owing to his contrivance that the naval conflict had taken place in THE STRAITS ; *a circumstance which clearly saved the cause of Greece.*

We passed the night in a small boat in the bay, having spent the afternoon on the shore in exploring the ruins of the town of SALAMIS, which are seen at Ampelákia (*vineyards*), the modern village on the western side of the Strait.

The southern outlet of the Strait is faced by the small island of PSYTTALEIA. It was on account of this its position that this island was chosen as the post of a detachment of the noblest and bravest of the Persians, who were commanded to intercept the flight of the Greeks from their station in the bay. Here, when instead of pursuing, they were themselves pursued by their antagonists, the principal carnage of the Persians took place.

Psyttaleia is a low and barren islet. Its present name is Lipsokoutáli. This is perhaps a corruption of the older name, which, in the mouth of a Greek, would be pronounced Psyttália. The attempt to give the word some meaning in the modern language [2] produced the present modification of the old name.

It was the spectacle of the slaughter made by the Greeks here which struck the mind of the Persian [3] monarch with

Vit. Aristid. p. 498. *νῦν σὲ πυνθάνομαι μόνον ἅπτεσθαι τῶν ἀρίστων λογισμῶν κελεύοντα διαναυμαχεῖν ἐν* ΤΟΙΣ ΣΤΕΝΟΙΣ.

[2] In which *κουτάλι* signifies a *spoon*, and, as applied to this small flat island, expresses nearly the same idea as the ancient name did, which seems to be a corruption of *Ψῆττα λεία* (a smooth flat fish). Coulouri, the modern name of Salamis, is in the same way expressive of its *circular* form. Κουλοῦρι is interpreted by *ὄφις* in Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieget., and is the same word as the Latin *coluber* and *colurus ;* hence it means a circular cake (*κόλλυρα*, Aristoph. Pac. 122), which is its signification in Greece now ; and hence the iron which encircles the pole of a plough is now called *κολλοῦρα*.

[3] Æschl. Pers. 465.—the rhythm of the first line here is very expressive—

Ξέρξης ἀνῴμωξεν κακῶν ὁρῶν βάθος·
ἕδραν γὰρ εἶχε παντὸς εὐαυγῆ στρατοῦ,
ὑψηλὸν ὄχθον ἄγχι πελαγίας ἁλὸς,
ῥήξας δὲ πέπλους κἀνακωκύσας λιγὺ
ἧΐξ' ἀκόσμῳ ξὺν φυγῇ.

so much horror and dismay, that he sprang from his silver-footed throne on the hill-side, uttering a loud cry of lamentation, and tearing his garments in an agony of despair.

A little to the east of this hill is a harbour on the mainland, which retires with a deep inland recess: we saw a small Greek vessel issuing from this harbour, rendered more conspicuous by the dark-red colour of its sails, strongly contrasted with the gloominess of the shady creek. This was the only object then moving on the Bay of Salamis.

GROTTO ON MOUNT HYMETTUS.

DEC. 27, 1832.

THIS evening we spent some time in a grotto on Mount Hymettus. It is about twelve miles south of Athens, on the way to Sunium, and near the village of Bári, the ancient Anagyrus.

It is a natural subterranean cave, entered by a descent of a few stone steps, from which access the interior is dimly lighted: it is vaulted with fretted stone, and the rocky roof is gracefully hung with stalactites.

There are some ancient inscriptions engraved on the rock near the entrance, From one of these we learn that the grotto was sacred to the Nymphs. Another inscription admits the sylvan Pan, and the rural Graces, to a share in the same residence. The pastoral Apollo is likewise united with them in another sentence of the same kind.

The Attic shepherd to whose labour the cave was indebted for its simple furniture, is also mentioned in other inscriptions here. His figure, dressed in the short shepherd's tunic

The throne of Xerxes seems to have been on the southern side of the hill now called Κερατόπυργο, and formerly Ægaleos. Schol. Aristid. p. 183. Dindorf. Ξέρξης καθῆστο ἐπὶ τῆς ἠπείρου εἰς τὸ ΑΥΓΑΛΕΟΝ (read τὸν ΑΙΓΑΛΕΩΝ) ὄρος καταντικρὺ Σαλαμῖνος. Cp. Harpocrat. v. ἀργυρόπους δίφρος, and Plutarch, V. Themist. p. 464, where the throne is of gold. In Callim. Frag. cclxvi, ἢ ὑπὲρ ΑΥΣΤΑΛΕΟΝ, χαρίτων λόχον, perhaps we should read ΑΙΓΑΛΕΩΝ.

(*βαίτα*), and with a hammer and chisel in his hands, with which he is chipping the side of the cave, is rudely sculptured on its rocky wall.

To the traveller who comes here from the magnificent fabrics of Athenian worship now lying in ruins in the city of Athens, this simple grotto—a natural temple on a solitary mountain dedicated to natural deities—will be an object of much interest. Here are no ruins. Time has exerted no power here. The integrity of the grotto has scarcely been impaired by lapse of years. When left alone in the faint light of this cavern, and looking on these inscriptions which declare the former sanctity of the place, and on the basins scooped in the rock from which the sacred libations were made, and the limpid well in the cave's recess from which water was supplied for those libations to the rural deities—and with no other objects about us to disturb the impression which these produce—we might almost imagine that some shepherd of Attica had just left the spot, and that he would return before evening from his neighbouring sheep-fold on Hymettus, with an offering to Pan from his flock, or with the spoils of the mountain-chase, or with the first flowers which at this season of the year have just peeped forth in the rural gardens.[4] And if we might pursue this fancy further, we might imagine him coming here with pastoral pipe and crook in his hand, pouring forth his feelings in a simple strain, such as the following:—

Σπήλυγγες[5] Νυμφῶν εὐπίδακες, αἱ τόσον ὕδωρ
εἴβουσαι σκολιοῦ τοῦδε κατὰ πρέονος,
Πανός τ' ἠχήεσσα πιτυστέπτοιο καλιὴ,
τὴν ὑπὸ βησσαίης ποσσὶ λέλογχε πέτρης,

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[4] The offerings with which the sides of this cave were once hung, are thus rurally described in a picture of a pastoral grotto, similar to the present: (by Longus, Pastoral, i. p. 5. Villoison), *ἀνέκειντο δὲ γαυλοὶ καὶ αὐλοὶ πλάγιοι καὶ σύριγγες καὶ κάλαμοι, πρεσβυτέρων ποιμένων ἀναθήματα*; where I would suggest that *γαυλοὶ* should be altered into *αὐλοὶ*. Compare Theocritus, xx. 29.

κἦν αὐλῷ λαλέω, κἦν δώνακι, κἦν πλαγιαύλῳ.

Liquids were offered in *γαυλοὶ* (Theoc. v. 58), but the *γαυλοὶ* themselves were not hung up as *ἀναθήματα*.

[5] Crinagor. Anthol. i. p. 269. Jacobs.

αὐταί θ' ἱλήκοιτε καὶ εὐθήροιο δέχεσθε
Σωσάνδρου ταχινῆς σκύλ' ἐλαφοσσοΐης. . . .

Grot of the Nymphs, where from the rocky brow
Refreshing streams of liquid crystal flow,
Thou echoing Crypt, where pine-crown'd Pan resides,
Within the vaulted valley's hollow sides;
Hail, and reward Sosander's rural toil,
His chase assist, who gives you of his spoil.

The Inscriptions engraved on the sides of the grotto, still deserve some notice.[6] The cave is of a horse-shoe form, of which the concave part is the most distant from the entrance, On entering the right-hand arm of this curve, the spectator perceives the following words on his right hand: they are cut on the planed face of the rock there: and the letters are arranged in *rank and file* στοιχηδόν,—as follows:—

ΑΡΧΕΔΗΜΟΣΟΦ
ΗΡΑΙΟΣΟΝΥΜΦ
ΟΛΗΠΤΟΣ ΦΡΑΔ
ΑΙΣΙΝΥΜΦΟΝΤ
ΑΝΤΡΟΝΕΞΗΡΓ
Α[Ξ]ΑΤΟ.

Archedemus of Pherœ, the Nympholept,
By counsel of the Nymphs, this Grotto formed.

It may be observed, that though in this inscription the long ē is introduced, the long ō is not: and that, since the conclusion forms an iambic verse, the last word must be read (not ἐξηργάσατο, but) ἐξηργάξατο, as the vestiges of the inscriptions themselves suggest, a dialectic[7] licence, which is to be accounted for by the Thessalian origin of Archedemus,

[6] Even after that which they have received from Boeck, C. Ins. Gr. 456.

[7] Compare Elmsl. Med. 31. not. u. Matthiae. Eur. Iph. A. 406. Cp. ἐννυβρίξῃς in an inscription, Pashley's Crete, i. 140. We have two other dialectic forms, κᾶπον and Ἀρχέδαμος, in another inscription found in this cave:—

[Ἀρχε]δαμος ὁ Φερ—
[αῖος] κᾶπον Νύμ[φ]
αις ἐφύτευσεν.

by whose hands or in whose honour the inscription was engraved, and who, it appears from one of the inscriptions, had migrated from Pheræ in Thessaly to Attica, where he was enrolled in the demus of the Chollidae, who probably dwelt near this grotto.

The inconsistency in the orthography of the first syllable of the word Pheræ , the native place of Archedemus, which is observed in comparing this inscription with another in older characters, near the exit of the grotto, where he is described as ὁ Φεραῖος, seems attributable, not to the difference of date in the two inscriptions—for on this supposition, *νυμφὸν* would not have been written, as it is, for *νυμφῶν*—but to another cause. The commencement of the inscription is intended to be poetry, and not prose, as well as the end: and, it being so intended, the form Φηραῖος was employed, and not the other, in order to suit the verse. The sentence then may be thus exhibited as a distich from the shepherd, in a moment of *nympholepsy*.[8]

Ἀρχέδημος ὁ Φηραῖος ὁ νυμφόληπτος
φραδαῖσι Νυμφῶν τἄντρον ἐξηργάξατο.

Archedemus of Pheræ, in a nympholepsy,
By counsel of the Nymphs this cave did execute.

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[8] The metre of the first line is Choriambic.

Αρχέ‖δημος ὁ Φη | ραῖος ὁ νυμφ | ὁλήπτος.

Cp. Terentian. Maur. iv. 1873, 1893. Mar. Victor, p. 117, ed. Gaisford.

This conjecture that this inscription is intended to be *metrical* is confirmed by the character of the *other two*, which were found here, and of which only the latter now remains on the spot. They are both anapæstic

(1) Αρχέδη‖μος ὁ Φηρ'αῖος | καὶ Χολ‖λείδης | ταῖς Νύμ | φαις ᾢ | κοδύμη σεν: which is an Aristophanic anapæstic tetrameter, with a trisyllabic base: and (2) Αρχέδημος‖

ὁ Φεραῖ ος κἀ|πον

Νύμφαις ἐφύτευ|σεν; of which the two latter lines are hypercatalectic anapæstic monometers. It was perhaps designed, in these metrical prolusions, that the syllables Αρχε—, Αρχεδη—, Αρχέδημος, should thus stand successively as a base *extra metrum*. It may be observed that the word Νύμφαις occurs with the article ταῖς in one of these inscriptions and not in the other; which is another confirmation of the above conjecture.

On the left hand at the entrance is the word **XAPITO** (that is, Χαρίτων, *dedicated to the Graces*, and not χάριτος) similarly inscribed: and a stone basin beneath it to supply water for libations to the Graces.

Proceeding to the interior, we meet on the right side with another inscription, of which the sense is less intelligible, as the rock in which it is cut is more corroded by time.

ΤΑΝΤΕΛ
ΣΟΚVV—
ΚΑΙΤΟ
ΘΟΝΙ

Having turned to the left round the corner into the other arm of the cave, we see on the left side a horizontal ledge chiselled in the rock, in which two basins, now filled with clear water, are excavated. Here, as in the Nymphëum of Homer.

> [9] ἐν δὲ κρητῆρές τε καὶ ἀμφιφορῆες ἔασιν
> λάϊνοι.
>
> *Are basins hewn and amphoras of stone.*

On a perpendicular margin beneath these two basins, two words are inscribed, one under each:—

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ ⋮ ΕΡΣΟ

the former of which words enjoins that libations should be made to Apollo, the pastoral or Nomian Apollo, who was here an appropriate deity. Perhaps too his connexion with Pheræ, the native place of Archedemus, the adorner of this grotto, gave him a stronger claim to a place here. It was in the plains of Pheræ that Apollo consented to become a shepherd, and there he fed the flocks of Admetus the Pheræan King.[1]

> Θῆσσαν τράπεζαν αἰνέσας, Θεός περ ὤν.
> *With menial fare contented, though a God.*

The name of the second deity is not of so common occur-

[9] Odyss. xiii. 105.

[1] Eur. Alc. init.

rence. Still the characters are so distinct, and the etymology of the word so significant, that they overcome the doubts arising from the rarity of the word. The second basin was, then I believe, the property of Ersus (ΕΡΣΟΥ). He appears to have been venerated here, as the beneficent power [2] to whose influence—shed like dew (ἔρση) upon the earth,—all rural produce in its infant state, the tender blade, the opening blossom, and the young firstling, were indebted for their preservation and increase.

The mention of this deity furnishes us, I think, with a clue to the interpretation of the former inscription, which from its corroded state seemed too mutilated to warrant such an attempt.

In the first inscription then of all, the word τἄντρον occurs: it seems to prepare the mind for an abbreviation, occurring as it appears, in this mutilated inscription, which would hardly otherwise have been admissible. The first four letters in this subsequent inscription may perhaps be an abridgment [3] of τἄντρον: and as it borrows this word from the first, so may the name of Ersus be supplied from the last. This mutilated inscription may perhaps, on these grounds, be restored as follows:—

τἄντ[ρον] [Ερ]
σου κλύ[ει]
καὶ τῶν [χ—]
θονί[ων]

This cave belongs to Ersus and the subterranean Deities.

The deities of the earth (θεοὶ χθόνιοι) might fitly be honoured in this subterranean crypt, by the peasant who

[2] Weicker, Æschyl. Tril. p. 240, considers Ἔρσος as a form of Ἔρος, Ἔρως, the principle of increase, and adds, p. 286, Man statt des Regens den Thau setzt,

Vos date perpetuos teneris sementibus *auctus* (ἔρσας),

die dann der Pallas zum Dank in der *Ersephorien* dargebracht werden. Cp. Buttmann, Lexilog. ii. p. 170.

[3] See an instance of abbreviation in the Elean Inscription, Boeck, p. 29. If the abbreviation is not admissible, perhaps the true reading may be ταὐτ' Ἔρσου κλύει.

lived on the earth's produce, and was reminded by the poet of agriculture to invoke their blessings on his labours,—

εὔχεσθαί τε Διὶ χθονίῳ Δημήτερι θ' ἁγνῇ,[4]
And pray to Jove Terrene, and pure Demeter:

and another poet might have suggested language to be addressed to them and to their associate Pan, in this grotto:

[5] αἰγιβάτῃ τόδε Πανὶ καὶ εὐκάρπῳ Διονύσῳ
καὶ Δηοῖ χθονίῃ ξυνὸν ἔθηκα γέρας,
αἰτέομαι δ' αὐτοὺς καλὰ πώεα καὶ καλὸν οἶνον,
καὶ καλὸν ἀμῆσαι καρπὸν ἀπ' ἀσταχύων,

To goat-legged Pan, to Bacchus, and the shrine
Of Ceres the Terrene, this gift I bear;
O! grant me fleeces white, and mellow wine,
And corn-fields waving with the loaded ear.

The name of Pan is twice carved in rude letters ΠΑΝΟϚ on the rock near the exit of the cave.

Νυμφῶν τινων ἱερὸν ἀπὸ τῶν κορῶν τε καὶ ἀγαλμάτων ἔοικεν εἶναι—*From the images and votive offerings, it appears to be consecrated to some Nymphs,* is a notice which Plato[6] has left us of another spot, and might well have been applied to this grotto; and what is more, it might perhaps have been applied to *this* spot by Plato himself from his own acquaintance with the place.

In early youth, Plato, as we are told by one of his biographers,[7] was carried by his parents up the slopes of Mount *Hymettus,* and conducted by them to a place which was dedicated TO PAN, THE NYMPHS and THE PASTORAL APOLLO; and offerings were there made by them in his behalf to the tutelary deities of the place.

We may, then, be allowed to indulge a conjecture, that

[4] Hesiod O. and D. 457.

[5] Incert. Anthol. i. p. 195. (Jacobs.)

[6] Plat. Phædr. 230. c. Compare his description of the allegorical Cave, Repub. vii. init.

[7] Olympiodor. v. Plat. p. 1. τὸν Πλάτωνα λαβόντες οἱ γονεῖς τεθείκασιν ἐν τῷ Ὑμηττῷ, βουλόμενοι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐκεῖ Θεοῖς Πανὶ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι νομίῳ καὶ Νύμφαις θῦσαι.

the grotto in which we now are, situated on Mount Hymettus, and dedicated, as these inscriptions carved on its rocky sides evince, TO PAN, APOLLO, and the NYMPHS, was witness of that scene, and that we ourselves are here permitted to look on the same objects as arrested the eye, and perhaps inspired the devotion, of the youthful Plato.

NOTES IN FRANCE.

(1844—1853.)

In the Summer of 1844, when Louis Philippe was on the Imperial throne of France, the author visited that country, partly for the purpose of collating the MSS. of Theocritus (on an Edition of which he was engaged) which are preserved in the Royal Library, but more especially with a view of studying the condition and prospects of the Church and Education in their relation to the State in that country; and of endeavouring to ascertain what might be the probable results of those relations; and of considering also what practical inferences might be derived from them in reference to the Church and Education in England.

Separation and Antagonism between Church and State; removal of Religion from National Education in Schools and Colleges—these were the phenomena of the times. The author's impressions and prognostications on this subject were published in 1845 in his "Diary in France."

The apprehensions there expressed of coming calamities (although Louis Philippe appeared to have secured his throne by material safeguards, especially by the military fortifications around Paris), were too fully realized, in less than three years from that time.

Some elements then working in France are now in operation in England, and what the results may be, unless they are neutralized, cannot be contemplated without alarm and melancholy forebodings for our own country.

The following paragraphs may be found in that work.

I have found the opinion entertained by many persons on France, which is expressed somewhere very strongly by De

Maistre, that the Civil Power, by depressing the French Church and depriving it of its legitimate rights, is throwing the French clergy at the feet of the Pope as his devoted slaves and vassals; and that thus the spirit of Republicanism is fighting the battle of the Papacy with greater vigour and success than that with which it ever contended *against* it. De Maistre adds, that the republicanized Monarchies of Europe, having thus thrown away their means of maintaining order and obedience, and having evoked a spirit of anarchy, which they will not be able to suppress, will be fain to make humble supplication to the Bishop of Rome to exorcise the unquiet spirit which they have aroused, and to take their kingdoms under his own protection.

Tuesday, Aug. 13.—By the kindness of two friends we obtained tickets of admission to the *grand concours* of the Colleges of Paris and Versailles at the Sorbonne, for to-day,

The design of the *concours* is as follows: the colleges or great schools of Paris and Versailles, containing altogether at present, above 6000 students, are brought into competition with one another annually, by means of the University, of which they are constituent parts. In the *departments* there are other academies, as they are called, twenty-seven in number, each consisting of groups of colleges, and these academies are clustered together into the "*University of France;*" and thus there is one system of National Education, which is commensurate with the extent of France. The *chef-lieu*, or centre of this great system, is the Sorbonne, a large building of the bad Italian style of the age of Cardinal Richelieu, who laid the first stone; and occupying the place of the old venerable fabrics of that name, which dated from the thirteenth century, but which have now disappeared.

The result of the competition of the Parisian colleges is announced at the *concours* with great ceremony and display. The proceedings of the day took place in a large saloon at the Sorbonne, in which the seats were arranged for the students after the manner of an ancient theatre, i. e. with concentric benches rising up in an inclined plane one above another, thus forming *cunei*, with *viæ* converging downwards to what would be called the orchestra in a Greek Theatre.

Above these seats to the right and left at each end of the room are *tribunes*, as they are termed, or galleries (two on each side), which were filled with spectators. The *stage*, as it would be termed, of this theatre was occupied in the centre by a chair of state, which was to be filled by M. Villemain, the Minister of Instruction, Grand Master of the University, Peer of France, &c.; with crimson velvet and gilt benches on each side, to be occupied by members of the Council of Instruction and other dignitaries. Immediately behind M. Villemain's chair was a portrait of King Louis Philippe, flanked by tri-coloured flags, beyond which, one on each side, in niches, are statues of Fénélon and Bossuet, obsolete remnants of the *ancien régime*.

After the admission of the company, about eleven o'clock a.m., the students poured in by crowds, and took their places in the centre or body of the hall. At the same time came in the members of the *École Normale*, i. e. of the school for training masters; then marched in the professors, in black gowns, bands, and long orange-coloured silk badges, over the left shoulder: together with them came the Doctors in the faculties of Law and Medicine, in scarlet cloth gowns, and other professors in crimson satin and orange silk gowns —a brilliant show. These took their places where the senators would have sat in a Roman theatre, i. e. the lowest in front nearest the stage. The front rows of the galleries were occupied by distinguished personages, among whom were some members of the Institute in dress coats covered with bright-green embroidery and with swords. A military band occupied one corner near the north gallery, where we sat.

After the students had taken their places, and one or two pieces of music had been played, a great uproar arose, the young prize-men and their comrades demanding the revolutionary air of *la Marseillaise*, which, after a short delay, was played by the band, and received by the students with great applause; it was soon called for again, and again played, and received with equal *éclat*.

At twelve o'clock precisely appeared M. Villemain (dressed in a plain court-dress, embroidered collared coat, white waistcoat, and sword), preceded by two gold maces who took their

station behind his chair; the assembly stood up, and M. Villemain desired them to be seated. Some gentlemen, splendidly robed in violet velvet and ermine with white gloves, followed him and took their seats on the side benches; after which, on each side, the stage was guarded by a company of soldiers, who stood all the time. M. Cousin, dressed as member of the Institute, sat at the end of the left bench. The proceedings were opened by a Latin address read by one of the professors, Mons. Demogeot, of the College of St. Louis. The *English* pronunciation of Latin is not very good, to be sure; but Cicero himself could not have been eloquent in French. M. Villemain next rose and drew out of his pocket a paper, from which he proceeded to read his address in a very good and audible voice, and in a very dignified manner. The speech had excited great expectation on account of the present condition of affairs connected with National Education, and was listened to with profound attention. It commenced with the usual salutation, "*Jeunes Élèves,*" and reminded them that on no previous occasion was so much interest attached to the proceedings and the career of the rising generation of France as at the present day; that they had, therefore, much to rejoice in, and much to hope for. He spoke of the dignity of the University whose character was in their hands; he referred to its foundation by the hand of the great hero of France (Napoleon), by that same hand as had reared again her fallen altars, had signed the Concordat of 1801, and had brought (*attira*) the sovereign Pontiff to Paris (not a word about his sending him to Fontainebleau and to Savona). He enlarged upon the advantages which they enjoyed, as having not only all the learning and genius of Antiquity open to them, but also possessing it elevated by Christianity, illustrated by the science of modern times, and purified by the morality of its rational and intelligent philosophy; and he exhorted them, by religious and moral conduct, by loyalty and patriotism, by discharging the duties which they owed to their colleges, to their families, and to society at large, to maintain the character of the University, to vindicate it from the aspersions of its enemies, to be the apology of their masters (*l'apologie de leurs maîtres*),

and the joy and pride of their families. He reminded them that their time for mixing in the politics of the world would soon arrive, but that it was not yet come; when it did arrive, they would then show that they were true sons of the University of France, and would follow the glorious examples of their former comrades the young sons of their King (Louis Philippe), who were advancing its glory in the colony of Constantine, and on the perilous coasts of Morocco.

After this address, which was received with much applause, the distribution of the prizes ensued; the names of the more eminent successful candidates being proclaimed by M. Cousin, M. Poinsot, and M. St. Marc Girardin, members of the council of instruction; the rest by the *inspecteur des études*, M. Bourdon; M. Cousin announcing the philosophy prize, M. Poinsot that for mathematics, M. St. M. Girardin for rhetoric. The prizemen, as their names were called over, descended from their places and approached M. Villemain, who placed a green wreath of ivy on their heads, and kissed them on the temples. The prizes consisted of sets of handsomely bound books, the music playing at the announcement of each prize.

At this *concours* neither the Archbishop nor any one of the eighty Bishops of France was present, and only very few of the Clergy, scattered here and there among the spectators. There was no notice of any prize for religious knowledge in the long list of honours which were conferred. I had a neighbour sitting next me at the *concours*, who seemed to be in little sympathy with the principles of the proceedings of the day. He was a young man, and had a book with him to read in the interval of waiting, before the commencement of the ceremony. He appeared to think that the spirit of the *Jeunes Élèves* was anything but favourable to the maintenance of the powers that be; and their demand for the music of the Revolution elicited from him many expressions of regret at the democratic temper which prevails in the University. He appeared to think that the Monarchy was losing strength with the rise of the new generation. He asserted that the King would not venture to make his appearance in such a popular assembly as the present, from

apprehension of personal danger. He asked me whether I was in Paris at the anniversary of the glorious "three days of July, 1830;" if I had been, he said, I should have seen that when the King appeared at the window, no one in the crowd cried, "*Vive le Roi!*" Certain it is that the contrast is very great between the public exhibitions of loyalty at Paris twelve years ago, and the total indifference and almost oblivion into which the national mind seems now to have fallen with respect to the person of the Monarch, and the claims of the Monarchy. At *that* time, as I remember, the print-shops were crowded with portraits of the new king, Louis Philippe. I have now been in almost every part of the capital, and I have not seen any portrait of him, except that just mentioned in this hall of the *grand concours* at the Sorbonne. There seems to be a natural disposition in the French to be soon weary of their toys, and this spirit of restlessness and discontent shows itself in the destruction of their history, their geography, their systems of weights and measures, their literature, and their religion, and all that ought to be most permanent. How often have the divisions of their country changed their names! How frequently have the streets of Paris received new appellations! How puzzled their public buildings must be to know their own purposes and designations! Witness the Pantheon with its various phases of metamorphosis: look at the Madeleine, destined first to be a Temple of the Legion of Honour, and now a Christian Church; turn to the *Arc de Triomphe* with its shifting titles; notice again the *Place de la Concorde* with its discordant nomenclature, which has effaced the recollection of two kings; observe the complete remodelling, in the present century, of the boundaries of all the dioceses of France; contemplate the total revolution in the system of National Instruction which has taken place in the same period; and mark the change of feeling with respect to Religion which is now rapidly diffusing itself both among the Clergy and Laity, and view the altered position which, by the virtual destruction of the Gallican Church as a National Establishment, and by its almost unanimous *renunciation* (on the part at least of the *clergy*) of those very

"Gallican Liberties" for which it contended so zealously under Bossuet in 1682, the Clergy of France now occupy with respect both to the Government and to Rome; and the only cause for surprise is, that in this Euripus of civil and ecclesiastical affairs the existing dynasty of Louis Philippe should have been permitted to remain at anchor for so long as fourteen years. It would almost seem that the prospect of further continuance is lessened by the duration which has been already allowed to the existing government by the People, who, notwithstanding Parisian fortifications and national guards, are its masters, as they were its authors.

Wednesday, Aug. 14.—Walked to the *grande Imprimerie* of the Abbé Migne to the south of the Luxembourg gardens and the Observatory, and a few hundred yards beyond the Barrière d'Enfer. This is a vast establishment directed entirely by the Abbé himself. It contains all the processes necessary for printing, as type-founding, stereotype, *satinage, brochure, et reliure*, with the exception of paper-making. It is indeed a very wonderful institution, especially considered as created and governed by a single clergyman, whose previous studies could not have been very favourable to such an enterprise. It was stated to me that there were 200 workmen employed on the premises.

The Abbé received us very obligingly, giving us an account of his designs, and carrying us through every part of his establishment. He is evidently born with a genius for command. His principal aim is to give to the world a complete collection, in a very portable form, and at a very economical rate, of all the Greek and Latin fathers of the Church.[1] He said that he had long had this plan in his mind, and had never rested till he had begun to put it into execution. "And with what means did you begin?" "With nothing," he replied, "but *la bonne volonté;* a man, sir, could build a church like your Westminster Abbey or St. Paul's, if he had but a *good will* to do it." "But you had friends to support

[1] Aussi qu'un cours très-complet sur chaque branche de la science ecclésiastique. (MS. note by M. l'Abbé Migne, who read my notes in MS.)

you?" "No, I had many *opponents* and enemies." "But the Bishops of your Church?" "They, sir, at first, were *all against* me; but seeing that I was in earnest, they have now come round and support me. I have just received a letter from one of them, who writes to me thus:—'Now, my good friend, draw me out a prospectus of your plan for publishing the Fathers; in the plan which you draw, speak you *en Évêque* for me; I will adopt it and sign it, and send it round to all my clergy as a recommendation of your enterprise; and mind, send me your edition of St. Chrysostom; not the Greek but the Latin, for at my age one does not study Greek.'—And, sir," added the Abbé Migne,—as a letter from another prelate was here very *à propos* put into his hands—"Here is a despatch from one of my former *opponents*, who is now become one of my principal supporters, and he sends me enclosed a preface, written in his own hand, to be prefixed to a great work by the late Cardinal Luzerne, of which he has very handsomely presented me with the MS., and which will soon appear from my press here—it is a treatise on the subject of the Catholic Hierarchy." Thus saying, the Abbé put the preface into my hands: it was written on a large quarto sheet, of which it filled, I think, three sides; I was much interested by reading in this same preface, an acknowledgment from the episcopal author of it, in his own hand, of the validity of *Anglican ordinations*, and of the apostolicity of the *Anglican episcopate:* a truth which, it is well known, Romanist writers, especially in the English colonies, have lately begun zealously to controvert (the Abbé himself has recently reprinted, in the twenty-fifth volume of his course of theology, the work of Kenrick, the Roman Catholic coadjutor of Philadelphia, *against* the validity of the Anglican orders), thus reviving the exploded tale, abandoned in shame by their ancestors, and unabashed by the honest confessions of Bossuet, Courayer, Colbert, and Lingard. The episcopal prefacer's words are, "*Parmi les communions Protestantes, l'Église Anglicane fut la seule qui conserva son Episcopat.*" It ought to be mentioned, as a reason which I have heard assigned for the prelate's reluctance in the first instance to give his formal sanction to M. Migne's bold undertaking,

that some other French ecclesiastics had formerly engaged in literary enterprises in which they had failed, and that he was apprehensive that the Abbé might add to the number of unsuccessful ecclesiastical speculators.

As yet the works of Tertullian, Cyprian, Arnobius, &c., and a part of St. Jerome and St. Augustine, are all that have appeared of the Latin collection. The price of each volume, containing about 1200 pages at least, of very large octavo closely printed, does not exceed seven or eight francs; the number of the copies of this collection will not be more than 2200. The Tertullian, Minutius Felix, and St. Cyprian, have been superintended by two of the most learned men in France, both Benedictines, Dom Guéranger and Dom Pitra.

If the undertaking should prove successful,[2] it will tend, perhaps, more than any design of the present day to familiarize the mind of the literary public with the great writings of Christian antiquity, and will supply a popular library of patristic theology for the use of parochial divines, as well as academic students: and thus it cannot fail to render signal service to the cause of Christianity.

When M. Migne spoke of the aid which he hoped to afford thereby to the Church of Rome, I ventured to assure him that no one would welcome his publications with greater satisfaction than the Bishops and Clergy of England, who were, I believed, generally speaking, quite as conversant with the works of the fathers as their brethren of France; and accordingly I took eleven copies of his *patrologie* (he allows eleven copies as ten), being convinced that I should find candidates for them among my literary friends.

Since this visit I have been looking at his St. Cyprian, and in it, at the famous passage quoted by Romanists, as from the *De Unitate Ecclesiæ*, cap. iv. The passage is there boldly inserted in the text, where one reads, *Qui Cathedram Petri, super quem fundata est Ecclesia, deserit, in Ecclesia se esse confidit?* These few words have exercised a wonderful influence over the fortunes of the world. Believed to be genuine by the Gallican Bishops in 1682, and quoted by

[2] It *has* proved marvellously successful.

them emphatically and *alone*, in support of their opinions in their circular letter to their colleagues the Archbishops and Bishops of the realm, when they promulgated the Gallican articles, these words, I say, appear to have then retained the Church of France in her union with Rome, and to have induced it to proclaim the necessity of that union as an essential condition of the Catholicity of a Church. Again, in our own times, these words were put in a prominent place by Pope Gregory XVI. in his Encyclic letter to all Patriarchs, Primates, &c., in 1832. "Maximum," says he, "fidei in Sanctam hanc Sedem studium inculcate inclamantes cum S. Cypriano, *falso confidere se esse in Ecclesia, qui Cathedram Petri deserat super quam fundata est Ecclesia.*" Here, by the way, the Pope inserts *falso*, and neither he nor the Gallican Bishops let their readers into a secret, which the Abbé Migne discloses in a note on the above passage, *Hæc verba non habentur in antiquis editionibus, neque in nostris libris antiquis.* True it is that they *are* found in some other MSS., but we must say that the chair of St. Peter is *tenui tibicine fulta* in its claims to be the centre of Unity, when it props them up on a passage *quæ non habetur in antiquis editionibus, neque in libris nostris antiquis*, by the confession of a Gallican Abbe.[3]

Thursday, August 15th.—To-day being the *fête de l'Assomption*, we went to the church of St. Roch, where we found the Abbé Grandmoulin just about to ascend the pulpit to preach. His sermon, as was to be expected, was entirely devoted to the honour of the Blessed Virgin, first as an example, and secondly as an object of devotion. He did not, indeed, neglect Scripture authority with respect to the life of the Virgin, but he built a good deal of his discourse upon the details given by ancient authors whom he did not cite by name. He stated some of the objections

[3] "L'Abbé Migne est ultramontain. Il a promis d'envoyer ses observations sur la note en question et les conséquences que l'on en tire." (MS. note from M. l'Abbé Migne.) I must beg the Abbé's pardon for calling him a *Gallican*, but I did not use that term in an *ecclesiastical*, but in a *national* sense. Those who wish to see more evidence of the spuriousness of the passage in the text, may consult Bishop Taylor, x. 501. and Dr. James, on the Corruption of the Fathers, p. 307.

that had been made to the adoration of the Virgin, who, he said, was not to be regarded as a mediator between God the Father and man, but between man and Jesus Christ, and that the faithful ought to pray to her, that she might desire her Son to pray for them. He met objections by alleging the authority of the Church, and by asserting that the practice of praying to the Virgin had prevailed from the earliest times, that it had been sanctioned by the *greatest Fathers* and *Doctors*, and by the Church herself; in proof of which he quoted the Litanies used in France to the Virgin, where she is invoked as *Regina Angelorum, Regina Patriarcharum, Regina Sanctorum omnium, Janua Cœli, Salus infirmorum, Refugium peccatorum*. Remembering these and other similar unfounded assertions which were boldly propounded to the congregation as if they possessed the authority of Divine inspiration, I cannot help recording my testimony, that a day thus kept is, in one of the very worst senses of the word, a day of *assumption*. I pass over one or two points in this sermon, which tended so directly to disparage the One great sacrifice for sin, and to encroach on the undivided unity of the Blessed Trinity, that a notice of them in such a narrative as this would seem scarcely reverent. How deeply to be deplored is it that the author of evil, who employed woman in paradise as an instrument of misery to man, should now be aided by Christian preachers in using the Blessed Virgin (the antithesis and antidote of Eve) as a subtle and efficacious poison for beguiling the human race from the simplicity of the Christian faith! Not, however, to be hasty in our conclusions on this subject, we went from St. Roch to the Church of La Madeleine, where another sermon was delivered at three o'clock. In plan and expression it was very similar to what we had just heard. There was a very large and attentive congregation. Speaking of the influence of the blessed Virgin, who was asserted by the preacher, on authority wholly apocryphal, to have fallen asleep, and to have been carried up into heaven, and now, after her assumption, to reign over cherubim and seraphim and over all the saints and spirits there, he exclaimed, "*La puissance de la Sainte Vierge est*

illimitée! there is nothing which she cannot desire her Son to do, and nothing which at her request He will refuse to perform: she is a *Médiatrice;* not, however, of power, but of grace." There was still more gratuitous assertion in this discourse than in the former. Both these Sermons were delivered in an impressive manner, but appeared to me very defective in anything like systematic arrangement, logical argument, or genuine eloquence. The duration of each was a full hour.

Friday, August 16.—At the *Bibliothèque du Roi* from ten to three, which are the hours for study there. Nothing can be more gratifying to a stranger, or more honourable to a great literary institution, than the courtesy with which every facility is here given for exploring the treasures of learning deposited in this magnificent establishment, which is probably without a rival, as far as MSS. are concerned, in any metropolis in the world.

In the afternoon, spent some time in a bookseller's shop in the *Palais Royal,* looking at a volume just published, *De l'Ultramontanisme et des Jésuites,* being Lectures by M. Quinet, delivered by him in his character of Professor of European Languages and Literature, at the *Collège de France.* It may be here mentioned, that the Professors of the *Collège de France* differ from those of the *Sorbonne,* in being a self-elected body, and not appointed directly by the Government. M. Quinet belongs to the same class of writers as his colleague, M. Michelet, Professor of History and Morality, and, like him, contends very vigorously against the Jesuits and against the Church, because it takes a Romanist direction in opposition to a national one. Unhappily, though he brings a great deal of just reasoning, together with abundance of talent, against his opponents, he seems to have no sound principles to substitute in the place of what he destroys, and there are several passages in his work of a sceptical and anti-Christian character which have strengthened the cause of his adversaries. I have since fallen in with a volume entitled *Manuel du Droit Public Ecclésiastique Français,* Paris, 1844, by the celebrated Lawyer and *Député,* Dupin, which maintains the principle of a National Church with much learning; he

follows the line of argument traced by the great writers of the Gallican Church, Bossuet, Fleury, and Dupin, and endeavours to recover their principles from the neglect and contempt into which they have now fallen from the scepticism and Erastianism of French statesmen and politicians on the one hand, and from the violent Ultramontanism of the clergy on the other. Still one cannot help being struck with the incongruity of his system: he begins with professing profound reverence for the Pope, as supreme and universal Governor of the Church, and then he proceeds to strip him one by one of all the powers and privileges which he claims in that capacity, making the Pope an Epicurean Deity, with nothing to do, and with no power to do anything; just as the Roman Poet Lucretius begins his poem, *De Rerum Naturâ*, with an invocation to a goddess, Venus, and then shows that gods and goddesses are nonsense.

Saturday, Aug. 17.—To-day went again to the *Bibliothèque du Roi*, to collate MSS. of Theocritus. M. Hase, conservator of MSS., was conversing earnestly on a topic which now engrosses universal attention, viz. the sudden dismissal of the whole of the Polytechnic School, consisting of 300 students. I will not enter into the arguments *pro* and *con* concerning this summary act of ministerial authority, or rather of royal power, on the representation of the minister of war, Marshal Soult; but the event is one of the numerous unhappy symptoms of the fact, that the present dynasty (that of Louis Philippe), having exhausted its *popular* resources, and outlived the *prestige* of the republican enthusiasm which created it, is now placed in the critical posture of transition from a democratical character to one of military rule. But it is much to be feared, that having been raised on the popular principle, and having been impelled to encourage that principle in all the great institutions of the country, and especially in those of Education, and to act in a republican spirit in its relations to the rising generation,—witness, for instance, the adulatory language which Louis Philippe employed to this same *École Polytechnique* (which he has now disbanded) in his *ordonnance* of 1830, on account of its services in defending Paris, that is, in ejecting the King Charles X. and over-

turning the Monarchy;—it is, I say, to be feared that the present Government will hardly have strength, with all its prudence and power, to stem the revolutionary torrent which it has let forth; and that it will feel the force of retributive justice from those powers which it has used for its own aggrandizement, if not in its own person, yet in that of its immediate successors.

The National Education of the country appears to be administered on principles quite as unfavourable to Loyalty, as to Religion and Morality.

At the *Bibliothèque,* to return from this digression, one of the keepers of the MSS., who has been very obliging to me, described to me the present condition of classical learning in France. A great deal of stress being laid upon the ancient languages in the school education of this country (and there are very strong passages in the recent Rapport of M. Thiers and his commission to the Chamber of Deputies, on the necessity of maintaining and advancing these studies in what is called secondary education), a considerable proficiency is made in them in the earlier stages of instruction; but in consequence of the variety of studies which distract the students in the higher classes, and especially from the heterogeneous character of the examination for the degree of Bachelor of Letters, and from the separation of the Clergy, the learned or should-be-learned class of the community, from the University and the schools of France, the amount of solid classical learning is extremely small. My friend, M. E. Miller, says that M. Hase and M. Boissonnade are the only two existing *savans* who are qualified to write on critical subjects in Latin. He might have added himself (he has presented me with two critical works which show his ability as a scholar), and also M. Duebner, well known as the editor of several volumes of Didot's *Bibliotheca,* who is deservedly esteemed for his learning.

Much jealousy seems to prevail between the privileged aristocrats of learning, *viz.* the members of the *Institut,* the *Rédacteurs* of the *Journal des Savans,* &c., and the laborious but less renowned students, who do not belong to the liveried and salaried literary corporations of the country. A gentle-

man mentioned to me that the faculties at the University had lately abandoned the habit of debating their theses, &c., in Latin. On the other hand, however, there seems to be some hope for these studies, from the increased interest now felt in France concerning the writings of the Fathers of the Church, and the literary monuments of Christian antiquity. At the recent distribution of prizes at the celebrated College of Juilly, which I hope to visit, the Abbé Goschler, one of the professors, made some excellent observations on the uses of classical studies in education.

Aug. 29th.—Went to-day to the Frères Gaume, the publishers, in Rue Cassette. Messrs. Gaume have deserved well of Christendom by their recent publications of St. Augustine and St. Chrysostom, St. Basil and St. Bernard; and the more so because the outlay necessary for these works was very great, and the prospect of reimbursement uncertain. I was very sorry to hear from M. Gaume, that the result of these undertakings had not been such as to encourage them to proceed further; they had, he told me, originally intended to publish St. Jerome, but had been obliged to abandon the project. It was very gratifying to hear from his mouth, for the theological and literary honour of England, that the principal market for these Patristic works had been in that country. This fact ought to have some weight, and probably will have, in favour of England, in this and other Roman Catholic countries, where the Church of England is commonly regarded as fearing, or contemning, the authority of Christian Antiquity.

I asked M. Gaume for a book lately published by his brother, the Abbé Gaume, *Histoire de la Société Domestique*, to which is prefixed a long and interesting discourse concerning the signs of the times, especially as seen in France, which, in his opinion, indicate the manifestation of the Antichristian sway, and the nearness of the Latter Days.

The Abbé's exhibition of the Antichristian phenomena of France, now fearfully apparent, is interesting and awful. He places the national renunciation of Christianity in France among the works of the Antichristian principle, and supplies abundant reason, by an exhibition in detail of its practical

consequences, for serious reflection and apprehension to all who are so rash and shortsighted as to imagine that religion will gain in efficiency, and the Church in liberty, by the complete separation of the spiritual from the secular power of a nation. He shows that the result of this separation in France has been the disorganization of the State, and so far from being the emancipation of the Church, has been, in fact, its subjection to the most abject and galling bondage; and this too, it must be observed, in the case of a Church which has a very powerful extrinsic support in its favour, that of the Roman See, to which the State of France is compelled by circumstances to pay a political reverence.

Here again, while on this important subject of the present relations of Church and State in France, it is worthy of remark that the *Charte* of 1830, the consummation of the last Revolution, and founded on principles purely secular and irreligious, has proved, in its working, one of the most favourable acts to the Papacy ever done in France.

The *sixth* article of this *Charte* declares that the "Ministers of the Roman Catholic Religion, professed by the majority of the French nation, and also those of *other Christian denominations*, shall receive *salaries from the national exchequer*."

France thus ceased to have a *Religious Establishment*. The Roman Catholic priesthood was detached from the Monarchy and the State. Their State salary is no bond of union between them and the civil power, because a *similar* State salary is given to ministers of *other* denominations of *Christians*, by the article of the *Charte* just cited; and not a year elapsed after the ratification of the *Charte*, before this salary was extended even to the *Jewish Rabbis* (*Ministres du culte Israélite*): who, by the law of February 8, 1831, began to receive an annual salary from the national treasury (*du trésor public*), dating from the 1st January, 1831.

Thus, then, *all* religions (I speak of the *theory*, for *Jews* being *endowed*, there is no ground for objection to the endowment of *any* religion) are endowed by the State in France. But the *practical* result of this *universal endowment* is (as might have been anticipated), that by endowing *all* religions

the State virtually endows *none*. By supporting *all* alike it gratifies *none;* and it receives no support from any. The State is indifferent to all Creeds, and all Creeds in return are indifferent to it. Indeed, they are more than indifferent to it; for, being Creeds, and therefore having certain positive principles of religion, they look with religious antipathy on that very power which pays them, because, while it pays them, it shows that it has no religious regard for any one of them, by paying all other religions alike.

This feeling of religious hostility to the State has, from various causes, been brought out more powerfully in the *Roman Catholic Clergy* than in any other religious body. Their position was *changed* by the *Charte* of 1830. Under the Government of the Restoration they were the Ministers of *la Religion de l'État,* according to the language of the *Charte* of 1814; and even under the *Empire* their condition was very different from what it is *now*. The Emperor was the State. He was a Roman Catholic: and a special provision was made in the *Concordat* of 1801 (art. 17), that, "in the event of the Head of the Nation *not* being a *Catholic, then* a *new* Convention should be made, putting the regulations for nomination to Bishoprics, &c., on a different footing." But *now,* since 1830, the Monarch, as such, is of *no religion;* and, besides this, his responsibility is resolved into that of his *Ministers,* who, *as such,* are of *no religion* also; and thus Religion is severed from the State. It therefore looks on the State as an alien and—I fear we must add—as an apostate; and especially *that* peculiar *form* of religion—Roman Catholicism—which had been hitherto allied with the State, now feels no sympathy with it, either on religious or on personal grounds—but is opposed to it on both.

It must be remembered also, that in addition to this *repulsion* from the national *Monarchical* centre, the religion of Roman Catholicism is at all times acted on by a strong *attractive* force to a *foreign* and *anti-monarchical* one. The Church of France had floated for many centuries in a sort of intermediate moorage, like a sacred Delos bound by chains, between the Myconos of the Monarchy on the one side and the Gyaros of the Papacy on the other. But the *Charte*

came in in 1830 and cut the monarchical cable, and the Delos of the Church was seen immediately drifting off to the Romish Gyaros; and the Pontifical fisherman of that island lost no time in seizing hold of both the cables, and has now tied the Gallican Delos to himself,

"Immotamque coli dedit, et contemnere ventos."[4]

The Crown has suffered irreparable injury from this annihilation of the Church as an *Establishment*. The Church being left to itself has become *extra-national*, and indeed *anti-national;* it declares in a bold and somewhat menacing tone, that the Crown having now become *unchristian*, has no pretence whatever to *meddle* in the *affairs of the Church*. The King of France, it says, was formerly *Rex Christianissimus; as such* he *had* ecclesiastical jurisdiction: but *now* he has forfeited that title; and his *Regale*, therefore, is at an end.

The Church of France, it may also be observed, has been changed from Catholic into Papal, as well as from Gallican into Ultramontane; that is to say, it has undergone alteration both in its religious and political character. The religious *Orders*, especially the Jesuits, who (it is well known) are bound by a special oath of obedience to the Papacy, in addition to the three vows common to other orders, are operating a silent and gradual change on the spiritual character of the priesthood and of the people—both by means of their own Society and by other affiliated fraternities and sodalities—not openly Jesuitical in name and profession. The works of the celebrated Jesuits Pères Ravignan and Cahour have tended to familiarize the popular mind, and even to enamour it, with the Jesuitical discipline; the preaching of the former has fascinated the ardent devotees among the women and the young men of France—the religious "*Retreats*," for which the Jesuits are famous, have roused and fed the spirit of pious enthusiasm—miracles and visions, trances and ecstasies, cures and conversions, have come in to fan the fire into a fanatical flame of religious frenzy; and the character of the secular clergy, the priest-

[4] Virg. Æn. III. 77.

hood, and even the episcopate, finds itself influenced by a secret and myterious power which has beguiled it of its religious sobriety, almost without its knowledge, and perhaps against its will, and holds it in spiritual bondage.

It must also be observed, that the religion of the *Regulars* —that which I call the *Papal* religion, as distinguished from the *Roman Catholic*—has gained much from the character and proceedings of its *opponents*. Messrs. Quinet, Michelet, &c., are men of great ability; but unhappily they are associated in the public mind with a sceptical and Antichristian system of teaching; and hence it is that when they attack the *Jesuits* they are believed to impugn *religion:* and thus, in popular opinion, the cause of the Jesuits has become identified with that of Christianity; and when charges brought by them against the Jesuits are shown to be exaggerated or unfounded (as they have been in many instances), their own arguments recoil upon themselves, and the cause of their adversaries gains strength from their attacks. The misfortune is—and an unspeakable calamity it is—that the French *Monarchy* has nothing to set against the *Papacy* (acting in the Church and by the Jesuits) but what is *termed Philosophy*—and which,—in the last resort,—*is Atheism.*

Louis Philippe has no force to bring into the field against the Pope, but the Professors of the *Collége de France* and of the *Sorbonne:* and he cannot contend with any prospect of success against such a power,—which has now the Episcopate and the secular and regular Clergy of France as its allies,—with such weapons as these. He may indeed keep it at bay: he may control it; but, in the meantime, in the persons of his own *auxiliaries,* he is encouraging and developing *other* principles no less dangerous to the Monarchy than those of the Papacy—the principles of Infidelity, Anarchy, Socialism, Communism, and Demoralization.

The Crown has been jealous of the Church, and has kept the doors of the schools of the State closed against her; but it now finds that in so doing it has shut out Christianity; and that it has to deal at present with a generation which has been educated without any sense of religious obligation, or of moral and civil duty, and which has no more regard

for the Throne, or for the Sovereign upon it, than it has for Christianity and the Church.

What would not Louis Philippe now give for a National Church, founded on the solid basis of evangelical truth and apostolic discipline, devoted to the Monarchy, and untrammelled by Rome? And why should he not endeavour to restore to France the Church of his forefathers? Why should he not attempt to revive the Church of St. Hilary and St. Irenæus? If he could effect this, he would have nothing to fear from the Jesuits; he would have his eighty Bishops devoted to the throne; and he would have no need of the aid of the Antichristian Philosophy of sceptical Professors of the College of France, to encounter the Antichristian policy of the Court of Rome.

But to return to M. Gaume.

Among other marks of Antichristianism in France, none perhaps are publicly more apparent than those which are presented by a view of national Education. M. Gaume cites particularly those demonstrations which have recently taken place in one of the first, if not the very first, Academical institutions of the country, the *Collége de France* at Paris. There, Professors appointed and salaried by the State have had the blasphemous audacity to announce publicly *ex cathedrâ* to their hearers, that the Christian dispensation is but one link in the chain of Divine revelations to man, that it has now served its purpose, and is soon to be superseded by a new publication of the Divine will, of which every man may be the recipient by his own independent act.

Other Professors of the *Collége de France* have as publicly declared to their young scholars, that they have seen with their own eyes a new prophet, whom God has sent into the world to regenerate it. And these Professors have appealed to their hearers whether they, too, had not seen this prophet; and above sixty of them at a time have replied, in a public lecture-room, "*Oui, nous le jurons,* Yes, we swear that we have seen him!" and this fearful blasphemy has been allowed by the Minister of Instruction and his Council to be broached by national teachers, in the great college of the capital, without any interference or remonstrance.

Other public predications of false prophets are referred to by the Abbé Gaume; and my friend M. Bonnetty has put into my hands a number of his "*Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne,*" published in April of this year, 1844, in which there is a full account of their proceedings.

The Church of France now strengthens herself against the State by identifying herself with the Papacy; she taunts the State with the separation which has taken place between it and herself. "You," it says to the State, "have been the cause of the severance, and you must take the consequences. You have broken the treaty of alliance; and yet you still claim to exercise control over me: but I protest against such tyrannical usurpation. As long as you were *Christian* and *Catholic,* it was reasonable enough for me to allow you to mix yourself up with my affairs; but now that you have become Jew and Jansenist in your codes, and Deist and Pantheist in your colleges, I renounce all your jurisdiction. Gallican Articles of 1682, Concordat of 1801, Organic Laws of 1802, Ordonnances concerning '*Appels comme d'abus,*' these, and all other ecclesiastical statutes, are *ipso facto* abrogated and null, as though they had never been, by the unchristian, heretical, and infidel character, which you, in your political wisdom, have thought fit to assume. What pretence have you now to meddle with my affairs? *Res tibi tuas habe;* take care of your own concerns, and let me manage mine. I interdict you from all commerce with me. I denounce your touch as profane. What! shall an heretical government take cognizance of the affairs of a Christian Church? Shall Catholic Bishops give an account of their proceedings, not to the successor of St. Peter, but to a multifidian Privy Council? Shall the cause of religious congregations of holy men and women, of saintly Jesuits and venerable Carmelites—who unite together for the purposes of mutual Christian edification—be brought before a State Tribunal which represents almost as many religions as it has members? Heaven forbid! this is an injury and an iniquity which I will never suffer to be perpetrated. I must listen to the voice of inspiration: 'Be ye not unequally yoked with unbelievers; what communion hath light with

darkness; wherefore, come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and I will receive you.'[5] Whatever, then, may be the consequences to you and to myself, I repudiate your claim to exercise any jurisdiction whatever in ecclesiastical matters; I affirm, that I have reason and religion on my side; I have also the constitution of our country in my favour; I invoke the *Charte* which declares, that 'all Frenchmen are equal in the eye of the law; that every one shall profess *his own religion* with an equal liberty, and enjoy for it the *same protection*,' and which guarantees liberty of teaching to all: I have a great and growing power on my side; therefore, I bid you to beware, and to give me that which I now ask as a suppliant, but for which I shall soon contend as a combatant, *that* for which we will sacrifice our lives, and which we are resolved to win at any cost—Liberty, complete, inalienable LIBERTY."

Such is the language of the Church of France to the State at this time. During the last three years, since the breaking out of the war between the Bishops and the University, and the censure, on the part of the Government, of the Bishop of Châlons (8th Nov., 1843), and of the Archbishop of Paris (8th March, 1844), on account of the part taken by them against the University, the strife has been waxing warmer and warmer; and the question of the rights of the *Regale* on one side, and of the *Pope's Supremacy* on the other, mooted by M. Dupin in his *Manual;* and, thirdly, that of the jurisdiction of the State over *Religious Orders*, have all served to add fresh fuel to the flame of discord between the civil and ecclesiastical powers, which will not, I fear, be extinguished for many years, and will probably extend itself with rapidity and violence, into almost every country of Europe.

Within four years after these words were written, Louis Philippe's dynasty fell. May I be allowed to add a personal reminiscence here?

While the banished king was in England, he was conducted one day with his queen, by Her Majesty the Queen Dowager, Queen Adelaide, to Westminster Abbey for evening prayer.

[5] 2 Cor. vi. 14—17.

Being then Canon in residence, I had the honour of receiving them, and King Louis Philippe occupied one of the Canons' stalls next to mine, and joined reverently in the service. After it he went to Henry VIIth's Chapel, and visited the grave there of his brother, the Duke of Montpensier, buried there beneath a monument erected by Louis Philippe himself. He graciously bade me farewell at the west door of the Abbey and said in a benignant tone, "Sir, I have had much pleasure in attending Divine Service here with your good queen Adelaide."

On the occasion of my visit to Paris in 1844 I had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of the learned Benedictine, Dom J. B. Pitra (now Cardinal Pitra), and of afterwards renewing my friendship with him at Westminster, and of accompanying him to Cambridge on the invitation of the Master of Trinity College, Dr. Whewell, whose great predecessor, Dr. Bentley, had maintained a literary intercourse with the celebrated Benedictines of the 18th century, Montfaucon, Mabillon, and others, as may be seen in Dr. Bentley's correspondence, edited by me.

Dom Pitra had been Director of an Ecclesiastical Seminary at Autun, the ancient Augustodunum, the capital of Gallia Æduensis, not far from Lyons; and on June 24th, in the year 1839, he, in company with the Bishop of Autun, Monseigneur d'Héricourt, and a learned antiquarian, M. Devoucaux, discovered there six fragments of an ancient inscription in making excavations in the Cemetery of St. Peter *in viâ stratâ*. This "Autun Inscription," as it is called (which is probably of the 5th century, but in rather barbarous Greek), has become famous in the ecclesiastical and literary world.

He did me the honour of communicating a copy of it to me, and of asking for an opinion upon it, which was expressed by me in a letter to him, of which a part was published by him in his learned work entitled "Spicilegium Solesmense," Paris, 1852, p. 562.

The Inscription has since been commented upon by various critics besides Cardinal Pitra himself, Padre Secchi, J. Franz,

C. Lenormant, M. Rossignol, Padre Garrucci, D. Windischmann, F. Dübner, Kirchoff, and finally by the late learned and accomplished English scholar and divine, Wharton B. Marriott ("Testimony of the Catacombs," pp. 120—157, pp. 214—223).

Mr. Marriott allowed me an opportunity of reviewing what I had written on the subject to Dom Pitra, and of stating to him (with one subsequent correction) my present opinion as follows. The words, or parts of words, in brackets, thus [ ], are supplied by me from *conjecture*:—

Dear Mr. Marriott,

I am much obliged to you for your photographic facsimile of the very interesting ancient Christian Inscription at Autun.

You are quite right in thinking, that, after the sight of your accurate copy of it, there are several particulars in which I should wish to modify the remarks that I made on this Inscription, at the request of Cardinal Pitra, twenty-five years ago, before anything had been written upon it by others, as far as I was aware.

The Inscription, as you well know, is a sepulchral one, in memory of a certain Pectorius, a son of Aschandeius. It seems to have been placed in a Cemetery near the Baptistery of a church, and to have been designed to be an invitation first to receive the Sacrament of Baptism, and to use it aright; and next to partake, with earnest desire and devout reverence, of the Holy Communion.

The connexion of this invitation with the sepulchral character of the Inscription is probably to be traced to the belief of the Christian Church, that these two Sacraments are the appointed means for communicating to the faithful the benefits of the Incarnation of the Son of God; and are pledges and earnests to them of a blessed Resurrection from the dead, and of a glorious Immortality, by virtue of their mystical union with Him Who is "the Resurrection and Life."

I now venture to submit to you what seems to me to be the reading and meaning of the Inscription:—

Ἰχθύος σ[ὐρανίου θνητ]ὸν γένος, ἧτορι σεμνῷ
Χρῆσε, λαβὼ[ν πηγὴ]ν ἄμβροτον ἐν βροτέοις

Θεσπεσίων ὑδάτ[ων·] τὴν σὴν, φίλε, θάλπεο ψυχ[ὴν]
Ὕδασιν ἀενάοις πλουτοδότου σοφίης.
Σωτῆρος δ' ἄγ' ἰὼν μελιηδέα λάμβαν[ε βρῶσιν·]
Ἔσθιε, πῖν[ε, σέβω]ν ἰχθὺν ἔχων παλάμαις.

The best comment on the Inscription is to be seen in the figures engraved on your margin (which were not inserted in Cardinal Pitra's copy), namely, that of the Priest holding the *chalice* (referred to in the Greek word πῖνε in the Inscription), and that of the man swimming by the aid of the *fish* (a symbol of the support given to the Christian carried safely through the deep waters of death by communion with Christ); and by the fish in the basket, commemorative of our Lord's miraculous feeding of the multitude, when the fragments of the fishes were taken up in the Apostolic baskets (Matt. xiv. 20; Mark vi. 43; Luke ix. 17; John vi. 13): all of which representations have their groundwork in the Name of Christ, the Divine ΙΧΘΥΣ, *i. e.* Ἰησοῦς, Χριστὸς, Θεοῦ Υἱὸς, Σωτήρ (see Optatus, iii. c. 2; Bishop Pearson on the Creed, Art. xi. note, p. 105), and declare that all the spiritual Life of all Christians, who were called from Him *ἰχθύες*, and who are born anew in the Water of Baptism, is derived from the Divine ΙΧΘΥΣ, Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Saviour of the world; according to the saying of Tertullian, "Nos *pisciculi*, secundum Ἰχθὺν nostrum, Jesum Christum, in *aquâ* nascimur." (De Baptismo, c. i.)

The Inscription, as I would propose to read it, may be translated as follows:—

"O thou mortal offspring of the heavenly Fish (Christ), use, with a reverent heart, when thou hast received the immortal fountain of divine waters among mortals." That is to say, When thou hast received baptismal grace, use that grace well, with a reverent heart. Thy daily life is among mortals, therefore be on thy guard: but thou hast an immortal gift of grace within thee, which thou didst receive in thy baptism; use it, therefore, with a heart full of reverence for the gift and for the Giver.

This is explained further by what follows:—"O my friend" (who hast been baptized), "cherish thy soul with the

ever-flowing waters of wealth-giving wisdom." Thou hast been baptized once for all; but there are everflowing waters of wisdom which will give thee eternal wealth: these are the living waters of the Holy Spirit, flowing to thee in the other means of grace, especially in the Word of God, in Prayer, and in Holy Communion. Remember, now that thou hast been baptized, ever to refresh thy soul with these perennial streams of divine wisdom. Neglect not the grace that is in thee, but cherish it continually; and then more grace will be given thee.

Observe now what follows:—"Come and receive the food, sweet as honey, of thy Saviour" (in the Holy Eucharist). "Eat, drink, reverently holding the Fish" (*i. e.* the Body and Blood of Christ) "in thy hands."

In the second line we have χρῆσε for the imperative aorist χρῆσαι (*use thou*), just as we have in line 8, λιτάζομε for λιτάζομαι (*I pray*). This barbarism is to be explained from the similarity of the sounds of αι and ε, a similarity as old, at least, as the times of Callimachus, who makes ἔχει to echo to ναίχι (Epigr. xxx.), and continued to this day in Greece; and also from metrical convenience, the short ε being substituted for the long syllable αι.

Now follows the answer to the above invitation.

This part of the Inscription is in a fragmentary state, and it is with much diffidence that I venture to suggest a conjectural reading of it; following, as nearly as I am able, the traces of the letters:—

Ἰχθῦι χαῖρε· σοῦ ἆρα λιλαίω, Δέσποτα, Σῶτερ,
Σῦθ' [ἐμοὶ ἡγη]τὴρ, σὲ λιτάζομε, φῶς τὸ θανόντων·

i. e. "Hail to the Fish" (χαῖρε being used, as in the angelic salutation, Luke, i. 28); "I earnestly long for Thee, O Master and Saviour." (Λιλαίω, I desire, is used for λιλαίομαι, followed by a genitive, Hom. Od. i. 315, and *passim*.) The Holy Eucharist was called 'Desiderata,' or 'longed for,' by the ancient Christians. (See Casaubon, Exerc. Baronian. xvi. No. xlv. pp. 500-2.)

"Haste to me as my leader, I pray Thee" (λιτάζομε for λιτάζομαι, as χρῆσε for χρῆσαι, in v. 2), "O Thou light of the

dead." Here, we may observe, is a testimony to the primitive usage of the Church addressing prayers and hymns to Christ as God, "*Christo ut Deo*," as Pliny relates (x. 97); and as is represented in the interesting ancient *Graffito* recently discovered at Rome, and described by me in "Tour in Italy," ii. 143-8. Cf. Euseb. H. E. v. 28.

The rest of the Inscription consists of words supposed to be spoken by the buried son, Pectorius, to his surviving father Aschandeius, and friends:—

Ἀσχανδεῖε [πάτ]ερ, τῷ' μῷ κεχαρισμένε θυμῷ,
Σὺν [μητρὶ γλυκερῇ καὶ ἀδελφει]οῖσιν ἐμοῖσιν,
Ἰ[χθὺν ἰδὼν, υἱοῦ] μνήσεο Πεκτορίου·

i. e. "O my father Aschandeius, dear to my soul, with my dear mother and my brethren, when thou seest the Fish" (engraved on the margin of this epitaph), "remember thy son Pectorius."

Believe me to be,
My dear Marriott,
Yours sincerely,
C. Lincoln.

The Rev. Wharton B. Marriott.

NOTES AT PARIS.

In the autumn of 1853, the author made a visit to Paris, with the view of examining the recently discovered Greek Manuscript which had been brought from Mount Athos, under the auspices of M. Villemain, and which contained among other interesting material, a sketch of the ancient history of the Church of Rome. He had reproduced a portion of the ninth book of that manuscript under the title of "St. Hippolytus and the Church of Rome in the earlier part of the 3rd Century." The MS. is lettered "Histoire des Hérésies," and is indicated as No. 464 in the Supplement of the Catalogue in the Royal Library.

I was also desirous of examining the condition and prospects of Religion and the Church in France at that time, and of Education; and a brief account of my impression was published anonymously under the title of "*Notes at Paris,*" London, 1854. Let me be permitted to insert some paragraphs from it:—

Thursday, Sept. 1, 1853.—Went to call on one of the Protestant Pasteurs of the Evangelical or Reformed Church at Paris. He was not at home, but I found his *Remplaçant* an agreeable and intelligent person, who gave me a kind reception. He described the Protestants in France as a "très petite minorité, affaiblie par la grande majorité Catholique;" and the Evangelical Protestants were divided into two parties: the one represented by the "*Lien,*" a journal, speaking the sentiments of the celebrated Athanase Coquerel, the leader of the "Unitaires," the other having its organ in the "*Espérance,*" a Journal conducted by M. le Pasteur

Grand-Pierre, one of the principal persons among those who are called "Orthodox."

My friend had been in various parts of France, and his impression was—a melancholy one—that among the middle and lower classes "on ne croit pas." There was some religion left in the south, but in the north of France it had almost disappeared. In the "grandes Villes" there is some show of religion; but he thought the reason of this in too many cases is, that there the Churches offer more attraction, from decoration and music, &c., which is of such an operatic character that M. le Ministre des Cultes had been recently constrained to address a circular to the Archbishops and Bishops, expressing his regret at the decline of Church music in France, and announcing the foundation of a school for the "amélioration du Chant religieux," and the endowment of the same from the public purse. "In France," said he, "le peuple est très-spectaculeux: they will go to Church as they go to a theatrical melodrame,—for the music, display, and excitement. You must not, therefore, judge of our religious condition by the numbers in the Churches at their great religious ceremonies. You must not imagine that because they are crowded then, there is, therefore, a deep feeling of religion in the heart of the people, or that they are strongly attached to the Church." He thought that the most brilliant displays of religious ceremonial, such, for instance, as the recent Coronation of the Image of the Blessed Virgin at Nôtre Dame des Victoires, were rather "signes de décadence." He thought that many of the Romanist Laity, and some of the Clergy, were "dégoûtés" with the violence and extravagance of Ultramontanism, and he mentioned a Newspaper called "La Presse religieuse," printed at Orleans, and published at Paris, as the organ of the Moderate Party. "But what," I asked, "is the state of your own Churches? Do you make much progress?" "Yes, we make some; but the circumstance I mentioned is one of our hindrances. The people love '*spectacle*' in religion, and we have little of that to offer in our Churches; hence, I candidly own," said he, "that Protestantism in our form is not suited for France as she

is now. It is too dry, too cold. There are other things against us. The name of *Protestant* in France is regarded as synonymous with that of '*rebelle;*' it excites 'souvenirs de la guerre.' Then our divisions tell against us. Still there is a considerable demand in the Communes of France for Protestant Instructors. I was Pasteur in a certain Commune, where I had five *Instituteurs* under me; our instruction was preferred to that of the Roman Catholic Schools. But the Government is now opposed to us, and we have great difficulties thrown in our way by the Civil and Ecclesiastical Powers. All the weight of the authority of the country is now cast into the scale of Rome.[1] "But do you not think," I asked, "that this State patronage may prove injurious in the end to the Roman Catholic Clergy and to the French Church? Will not the people identify them with the Government? and if there should be another revolutionary outbreak in France against the Government, will it not be directed against the Clergy and Church, as having been used by the Government as instruments for the oppression of the people? will it not be of an anti-hierarchical, and perhaps of an anti-Christian character?" "The Clergy and Church of France," he replied, "have some reason to apprehend a reaction in such an emergency as that."

It would appear that at the present critical period a large class of the French people imagines that the national religion —the Roman Catholic Creed—is not fostered by the higher Powers because they believe in it as a revelation from heaven, and therefore true, and necessary to be received and propagated, but is worn by them as a mask, and used as an instrument of Government—an ingenious and effective machine of Machiavellian Policy. They suspect the Civil and Ecclesiastical Powers of acting a political part, in order to serve their own ends. Thus the moral influence of the State and Church may perhaps be silently declining, even at a time when, by their combination, they seem to be strong. And there may be reason to think that the time may not be distant, when the people may rise against those

[1] This was under the régime of Louis Napoleon.

who, as they suppose, have conspired together to delude and oppose them.

The Papal element in the French Church makes it very difficult for the civil power to deal with it. The late ruler of France, Louis Philippe, feared and persecuted the Church as an enemy, as attached to the exiled dynasty, and in order to disarm and cripple it, patronized liberal measures and developed liberal powers, which eventually became too strong for his own government; and so Louis Philippe precipitated his own fall. Napoleon III. pursues a different policy; he favours the Hierarchy and the Church, and encourages it to develope its own principles. But is it not to be apprehended that the same Papal Element which made Louis Philippe jealous of the Church, will now, being cherished by the State, render the Government of Napoleon III. obnoxious to the Nation, and, by its extravagances and impostures, provoke and strengthen the cause of Infidelity and Revolution, and prepare the way for the downfall of his dynasty also? Until the Ultramontane Element is eliminated from the Church of France, the Church can never be a source of strength to the Throne; it will rather be a cause of peril to it. But if that were done, then the Church and Throne might aid each other, and flourish together.

Visited the establishment of Sœurs de la Charité, 140, Rue du Bac, founded by S. Vincent de Paul. The buildings very spacious and handsome, not in ecclesiastical style. There are about 500 sisters and 400 novices. Their services to the sick and at the hospitals are gratuitous; and whatever offering is made in return, is applied to the general purposes of the house. The chapel is a neat, large, cheerful building, arranged with open seats and galleries; with the following words inscribed over the altar (from Canticles i. 4); "Trahe me post Te; curremus in odorem unguentorum Tuorum."

This Institution suggests interesting reflections. Here is a great work, a charitable and religious one, which has now stood the test of more than two centuries. Contrast with it and its inmates the professional Nurses for Hospitals, and for the sick generally, in England. Doubtless from the

dislocated condition of French society, such an Institution as this has better prospects of flourishing in this country; it may more readily command personal co-operation in France than in England. It is easier to find women here who would embrace such a vocation as that of its inmates. Besides, some of the doctrines of the Church of Rome lend a powerful assistance in filling the vacant places in the noviciate with zealous aspirants. Perhaps, also, from a healthier condition of domestic society, the mothers and wives and daughters of England are more disposed to take upon themselves the duties of nursing, than is commonly the case in France. However, the spirit which animated S. Vincent de Paul, and produced this noble Institution, might find ample exercise for itself in elevating the character and in sanctifying the office of our nurses.

Went to the church of S. Sulpice, which also speaks of S. Vincent de Paul. In the frescoes which adorn the side chapels he is seen in attendance at the death-bed of Louis XIII., and as addressing the "Dames de Charité en faveur des enfans trouvés." There is a life of Vincent by Collet in four volumes, which is well worth reading.

Read in this church the following notice: "Indulgence plénière à tout fidèle qui s'étant confessé et ayant communié visitera l'église où le St. Sacrement est exposé, et y priera pour un certain temps pour la concorde entre les Princes Chrétiens, et *l'extirpation des hérésies*, et pour *l'exaltation de Notre Sainte Mère l'Eglise.*" And this assurance we find now offered publicly by the command of the Archbishop of Paris to all persons who will visit any one of the churches appointed for the perpetual adoration of the holy sacrament, and perform the requisite conditions in them.[2] If this promise is credited, what a holy and meritorious work it must be to wage war against Protestanism, and to labour for the exaltation of Rome!

Called on a R. C. Parish Priest, a serious, earnest-looking person. He spoke of the vicious results of the training in

[2] See the Lettre Pastorale de Mgr. l'Archevêque de Paris à l'occasion du Premier Anniversaire de l'établissement de l'adoration perpétuelle du Très-saint-sacrement.

the French Schools, and of the bad effects produced by the University generally throughout France. He thought that there was now a work of sifting and separation going on in this country. Evil and good were exhibiting themselves in greater force and intensity. Men were either "Incrédules, ou bons Catholiques." The great majority of the people knew little and cared little, he thought, for the differences of Gallicanism and Ultramontanism, and looked on the disputes between them as mere party questions of clerical warfare. It could not be doubted that Gallicanism was almost extinct, and had but few advocates of any note, except, perhaps, the Bishop of Chartres and the *Journal des Débats*. Religion had made great progress in late years, and many "âmes égarées" had returned to the bosom of the Church, and were leading devout lives. Still a wild and almost fiendish spirit was prevalent, and, in the event of a revolutionary explosion, a fierce conflict might be expected, which would endeavour to exterminate religion.

Went in the afternoon to the Abbé Migne's "Imprimerie Catholique," Rue d'Amboise, au Petit Mont Rouge, near the Barrière d'Enfer, which I had visited in 1844. This noble establishment is a striking example of what may be effected by the energy, ability, and perseverance of one man. We were delighted to find the Abbé in good health and spirits. The Abbé commenced his operations about fifteen years ago with little means of any kind, and now he has 330 workmen on these premises, where he can print a large octavo volume in double columns, and very close type, in a couple of days, on an average price of six shillings. He has now arrived at the 150th volume of his "Patrologia, or Series of the Writings of the Fathers of the Church," and his other Publications have advanced with almost equal rapidity. The accuracy of the typography of some of his Editions has been questioned; but in diffusing a knowledge of the Patristic Literature of the Western Church he has done great service. One of his publications, "On Miracles and Prophecies," has lately been noticed with some animadversions by the Archbishop of Paris; and some other differences have arisen between him and his ecclesiastical superiors in conse-

quence of which he was inhibited, for some time, in saying Mass. It is said that, on a certain occasion, the Archbishop, being very desirous of having a MS. printed with despatch, sent one of his officials with it to M. Migne's Grande Imprimerie, to see what could be done for it. M. Migne took the MS., looked at it, invited the bearer to dine with him. The invitation was accepted, the time passed very agreeably in M. Migne's company, and when they had finished their coffee, one of the men employed in the printing-house entered the room with the sheets of the MS. set up in type, to the astonishment of the Archiepiscopal officer, who carried them in haste to his chief, who was so much delighted and surprised by the rapidity with which his wishes had been executed, that he revoked the Interdict, and restored the Abbé to his professional functions. Heard this anecdote from M. D——.

We expressed our pleasure at finding him in so much vigour of body and mind, in the midst of his labours, continued without interruption for so many years. This elicited some intimations of desire on his part for a different mode of life. Perhaps he has sometimes felt that in some of the old authors printed by himself, there are divers decrees and canons of Church Councils prohibiting persons in Holy Orders from engaging in trade. He was anxious to retire, he said, from his present employment to a more spiritual life. His present existence, he added, was a "vie toute matérielle, même une vie d'abrutissement," and that he had many difficulties and even persecutions to encounter. Took the liberty of reminding him of the example of Origen, who, in the midst of trials and conflicts, had endeavoured to do with his own hand, and with the hands of his copyists, something of the same work that he, the Abbé, was doing with his presses and steam-engine; and that he was rendering great service to the world by his labours. "Yes," said he, "and I have been supported in a marvellous manner by Divine Providence in the midst of my toils and trials: I could never have done what I have been enabled to do, unless I had been blessed with a santé très-ferme,[3] et la bonne volonté, and

[3] We went round the Imprimerie with one of his workmen, who said,

unless I had been guided and strengthened by the good providence of God, who, I believe, called me to the work." He would have, I observed, the good wishes of all who loved learning, in all countries; and though we might not all be of one mind in many important points of faith and practice, yet I hoped we should love what was good wherever we found it, and be ready to promote it and profit by it. "As to such differences," he replied, collecting himself and speaking with much clearness and emphasis, "whenever a person believes what he finds to be proved by sound argument, and whenever he practises that which is dictated by faith,—then voici une bonne préparation devant *Dieu;* et ce ne sont pas les hommes que nous doivent juger," adding that, in his "Patrologia" he had put it "à la portée de tout le monde de voir que ce que l'Église croit, et ce qu'elle enseigne, et ce qu'elle pratique *aujourd'hui,* elle a *toujours* cru, enseigné et pratiqué." I said there might, perhaps, be two opinions on that subject—in his sense of the word *Église,* and we parted; and his farewell words were "Macte animo."

Sept. 3.—This morning called on another Pastor of the Evangelical Church. The Pastors of this Church give public notice that they "*receive,*" at certain hours, on certain days of the week; so that they are very accessible to visitors. The entrance-hall was filled with trunks, &c., not unpacked. He was sitting with a large quarto book in his hand; not alone, but with some of the family with him. They had returned yesterday evening from America after an absence of some months. I apologized for calling at such an unseasonable hour; he said that they were then engaged in reading a portion of Holy Scripture—the Psalms—as a part of their morning devotion. I requested permission to be associated with them, which was readily granted. The Psalm read (in French) was the 103rd: "Praise the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me praise His holy name." When he had ended the Psalm, he knelt down and commenced a

"M. l'Abbé est toujours le même, never discomposed; he is the first to rise in the morning and the last to go to bed; and sometimes he passes a whole day directing us, and superintending the works in this vast building, without tasting any food."

short prayer, a devotional comment on the Psalm just read. As it affords a pleasing specimen of that charity and piety which animate the minds and sanctify the lives of many among the Protestant clergy and laity in France, and reflects honour on a class of persons whom some, perhaps, among ourselves, are more ready to disparage for their deficiencies than to aid in supplying them, I trust it may not be considered a breach of confidence, or be regarded otherwise than as a mark of respect for this excellent person, if I set down a very brief and inadequate abstract of it. It was somewhat as follows: "*That* Psalm is always a seasonable expression of thanks for mercies received from Thee, O Lord, but now the words of the Royal Prophet are specially appropriate to ourselves. For now we are returned to our own home in safety, after a long absence; and we therefore owe the homage of our praise to Thee who hast preserved and guided us by sea and land, and hast brought us back to our own home in peace. And now that we are about to recommence the labours of our calling, we come before Thee to invoke Thy blessing upon them, and to dedicate ourselves anew to Thee. Bless us and the congregation committed to our charge, that we may be like vessels purified to bear the sacred treasure of Thy Holy Word. Bless all other Churches and Christian Ministers; and here we commend to Thy protection our brother although unknown to us, who has this day entered within our doors. Let Thy benediction be upon him and upon his doings, and keep us all in Thy fear and love to our lives' end, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

When he had concluded the prayer, he was good enough to say, "You have been brought here, Sir, this morning by the hand of Providence;" and he expressed a kindly feeling of interest and regard when he heard that I had come to Paris with a desire of informing myself on the present state and prospects of religion in France. "As to that," said he, "we Protestants, you know, are only a 'petite minorité,' and as to the prospects of the 'Église Catholique'" (for so he called the Romish Church), and he always called the Romanists "les Catholiques" (and this is

the common language of Protestants in this country),[4] "le Peuple ne croit rien." He expressed great apprehensions as to the probable effects of a revolutionary movement, which he thought would be animated by a sanguinary and vindictive spirit against "the Catholics," the Church, and Clergy. Took the liberty of observing on the use he made of the word "*Catholique*," as distinguished from, and opposed to, *Protestant*. "Permit me very respectfully to say such a use of the word Catholic, Sir, appears to be a sacrifice of principle, in which your adversaries must rejoice, and which they must welcome as tantamount to an avowal, on your part, that you yourselves are *not Catholics*, and therefore *heretics*." He did not deny but that there was some force in the remark; but the use is inveterate, and it would be difficult to reform it. But it deserves to be noted as a warning, and as reflecting light on the present condition of religion in this country. "As for ourselves," he said, "we make progress; we are engaged in various ecclesiastical and liturgical improvements, especially with regard to 'le Chant Ecclésiastique' and 'la musique religieuse.'" "But," said I, "et la Liturgie?" and taking out an English Prayer Book, ventured to say, "Voilà, Monsieur, ce qui a sauvé l'Église Anglicane; and how can you hope to make a permanent impression on the people, and to preserve their faith, and foster their piety, except by means of a Liturgy?" "I know," he said, "your Book of Common Prayer; and one of my English friends who has circulated the French translation of it in this country, tells me, 'Vous finirez, Monsieur, par être Anglican.'"

Evidently the temptation to extemporize prayer, and the habit of doing so, must operate as an impediment to the reception of a set form of prayer on the part of many of the French Protestant Pastors; and a Liturgy would probably

[4] Not only in conversation but in print. The following is from a published Address by M. le Pasteur Vermeil concerning the Protestant Deaconesses (Rapport, 1852, p. 24): "Devant les attaques incessantes dont l'œuvre a été l'objet, au milieu des accusations de tendances au *Catholicisme*," &c.

seem to many Protestants in France as something too cold and dry and formal for spiritual use and edification.

"But," said I, "Sir, for the maintenance of sound faith in a Church, is not a Liturgy of inestimable benefit? and may I be permitted to inquire what is the case with your own Communion?" He replied, "It was too true they were torn asunder by divisions. On one side are the Orthodox, on the other the Unitarians. There are also two opposite Journals; one on one side, and one on the other. In America," he added, "the different forms of Protestantism have distinct Churches; but here we (that is the members of the Reformed Church, not the Lutherans) are 'mêlés ensemble dans la même Église' the Oratoire." "But," said I, "Monsieur, si l'on prêche de l'hérésie chez vous, qu'est-ce qu'on fait?" "Rien." "Mais, Monsieur, le consistoire—, est-ce qu'il n'exerce aucune discipline?" "Mais, Monsieur," he replied, "comment voulez-vous qu'il exerce de la discipline? Le consistoire est divisé. D'un côté voilà M. ——, qui est Orthodoxe, et de l'autre côté voilà M. ——, qui est Unitaire." "But," said I, "have you no Confession of Faith? Are not your preachers bound by any Articles of Religion?" "No. Autrefois tout le monde souscrivait à la confession de la Rochelle; mais aujourd'hui on ne souscrit à rien; alors on peut prêcher tout ce qu'on veut." "Où est donc, Monsieur, votre espérance?" said I. "Dans la bonne Providence de Dieu," was the answer.

He spoke of their Schools and Churches as showing fresh vigour and energy,—and if they had but unity they might do anything.

I left him with earnest hope and prayer that, in God's good time, and in His wise counsels, something of a more perfect organization and spirit of union might be imparted to that religious life and fervour which is now manifesting itself with new energy among the Protestants of France; and that, if it so pleased Him, the Church of England might be permitted to be instrumental in the promotion of this blessed work. If *Protestantism* in France could *become* more *Catholic*, in the true sense of the term catholic,—if it would

not only *protest* against the novelties and corruptions of Rome to which it is opposed, but also against those dangerous errors which are cherished and propagated by some in its own communion;—if it could provide sound and healthful food and refreshment for the imaginations and affections of the people, by reverent decency and holy dignity, and modest beauty in the public offices of religion; embodying the great veritics of Christianity in those venerable Symbols of the Faith consecrated by the general use of Christendom; if it could divest itself of the character of a "new and rebel" Religion (I use the epithets applied to it by its adversaries), and could present itself in the august form and lineaments of the Primitive Church, and with its divine spirit and power, then it might be hoped that many of the sober-minded and pious of the Roman Catholic Communion would approximate to the Protestants of France, and they would be mutually attracted to each other, and coalesce in a National Church that would win the hearts of the people, and rescue the French Nation from the abyss now opening before them, into which they seem to be driven by two different forces, that of a shameless Superstition on the one side, and of an insolent Infidelity on the other.

Went in the afternoon to call on a R. C. friend, a member of a religious order,—a learned, zealous, and agreeable person. He is engaged in writing the Life of one of the Superiors of another religious congregation—a difficult and delicate task; for he will have to speak of other religious congregations; and some of them, I apprehend, were not very friendly in their dealings with each other. Indeed, the religious Orders of Rome, though united in her cause against an external foe, are by no means united among themselves. A remarkable specimen of this intestine discord may be seen in the work of a learned Benedictine, Père Pitra, on the Bollandists (the Jesuits of that name who compiled the "Acta Sanctorum"), who were at war for many years with many other fraternities. I recollect that one of the most eminent Benedictines, in a letter to Dr. Bentley, complains of the influence exercised by the Jesuits in his day over the Parisian Press.

My friend here began the conversation with remonstrating in strong terms on the language used in some Anglican Publications concerning the Church of Rome. But what (I asked) had been *their* language with respect to *us?* They had treated us as if we were no better than Saracens, and as if we had not a particle—même une étincelle de la foi. "Well," said he, "and what is the fact? Is not our language true? You are bound hand and foot; you are subject in all matters of doctrine to the civil power; you derive your Creed from the State. Your Church is like a vessel tossed on the sea 'sans boussole,' and you must 'faire naufrage.'"

If this be so, since a tree is known by its fruits, I requested him to compare the relative position and prospects of Religion in France and England. "Doubtless," I added, "there is much to regret in the moral and religious condition of England, but it seems to me that, wherever the Church of England has had fair play, she has a strong hold on the hearts of the people. But in France, I fear, wherever the Church is most dominant, there by the delusions, and superstitions, and false miracles which she cherishes, encourages, and displays, she has revolted the minds of a large mass of the people, who say to her in their hearts,

'Quodcunque ostendis mihi sic, incredulus odi,'

and they are goaded thereby into unbelief. Having detected the Church, as they think, in many falsehoods, they cease to trust her; knowing that she teaches much that is false, they will not believe her even when she teaches what is true. Hence, as it seems to me, there is great reason to apprehend a social and religious convulsion in France which may shake the nation to its foundations, and overwhelm the Church in ruin."

"Well," said he, "but we wait the issue without disquietude. Nous serons inébranlables. Do not imagine that the Church of France consists in her fabrics and temporalities. No; she lives in her works of piety and charity; she lives in her religious congregations of holy men and holy women; she lives in the Martyrdoms of her Mission-

aries, which are the seed of the Church. And, therefore, she cannot be extinguished."

"Doubtless," said I, "she has much that is admirable, and which, it may be hoped, if cleared from the corruptions with which it is overlaid, will bring down a blessing upon her; but still there are the tendencies to which I have adverted, and which, it seems to me, will, if not neutralized, lead to those results I have stated. And permit me to say, that the Church of England has now, we trust, evident tokens of spiritual life and of the divine favour upon her. Look at the number of new churches that have risen in England in the last five years. Besides, the Church of England is giving many proofs of vitality in our Colonies by the extension of her Episcopate and the foundation of new Sees."

"And what right," said he, "has the Church of England to erect Episcopal Sees?"

"A right derived from the Apostles and from Christ."

"No," he said, "she does it only by authority of the Crown, from which all your Episcopal jurisdiction flows."

"No; the authority of the Crown does indeed intervene in the assignment of the territorial limits within which the Episcopal jurisdiction is to be exercised; but the Jurisdiction itself, as far as it is spiritual, and not *in foro civili*, is derived from *consecration;* that is, it comes from Christ, the Divine Head of the Church. And let me ask," said I, "are not your own Bishops in France nominated by the Civil Power, even when that Power has no definite Creed? But, after all, the controversy resolves itself into one question, that is,—Did our Blessed Lord, or did He not, institute such an authority as is now claimed by the Bishop of Rome as of Divine Right? *This* is the point at issue. *We* say, He did *not*. If He did, it must be capable of *proof*. But we affirm that it cannot be proved from Holy Scripture, as interpreted by sound reason, and by the practice of the Primitive Church. Even those ancient Authors, whom you cite as most favourable to your cause, viz. S. Irenæus and S. Cyprian, are in fact against you, as their own conduct shows. If our Lord had instituted such an authority as

that now claimed by the Pope, those ancient writers must have known the fact of its institution. If the Bishop of Rome is Christ's Vicar on earth, if Christ's authority resides in him, how can you imagine that S. Irenæus would have ventured to remonstrate as he did with Pope Victor, or S. Cyprian have ventured to rise in opposition as he did to Pope Stephen? Would they have ever dared to act thus to Christ? Assuredly not. And yet you say, that in resisting the Pope, we resist Christ's Vicar, His Supreme and Infallible representative on earth,—we resist Christ."

"But," said he, "you allow that the Church is a Body, which has been always visible."

"Yes,—from the time of Abel."

"But how can you have a visible *Body* without a visible *Head?*"

"How, do you ask? and where was the Visible Head of the Church from the time of Abel and in the days of the Patriarchs?"

"But *then* 'l'Église n'était pas constituée; c'était une Église des familles, pas du monde entier.'"

"It was the Church of God, and if it was limited to a small space at that time, it was so much the more easy for it to have one Visible Head. But it had none; and *now* that it is diffused throughout the world, a Visible Head is, *à priori, less* to be looked for, on account of that universal diffusion; and, *à posteriori*, we do not find that Christ has appointed one Visible Spiritual Head of the Church, any more than He has appointed one Visible Temporal Head of the world. And we see many warnings in Scripture against such an assumption of Supremacy, and we see also many great evils resulting from it. Cannot we be saved by the faith which saved the Apostles? But according to the theory of *Development* which Rome has now adopted, and on which she acts, as, for instance, in the disposition now shown by her to make the Immaculate Conception into an article of Faith, and in the assertion of her own competency to do so, and to enforce that article on the conscience of the world, it is evident that, according to her, new doctrines may be added by herself even in the present day—the nineteenth

century—to the faith taught by the Apostles, and which saved them. Does not such an assumption as this recoil on her who makes it? Does it not place her in a position of antagonism to the Apostles and the Apostolic Churches, and to Christ himself, and to the Holy Spirit, Who was sent by Christ to the Apostles 'to lead them into *all* truth'? And is it not therefore manifest that such an assumption is contrary to the Divine Law, and that she who makes it, and they who are willingly deceived by it, are exposed to the Divine judgments?"

He declined to accept "the Doctrine of Development," and said that they were not bound by any theories of Dr. Newman; and that his own affirmation was consonant to that of S. Vincent of Lerins, that the Church taught "non nova, sed novè."

"But the Church of Rome," said I, "teaches *nova* as well as *novè;* she evidently claims this power in various particulars, especially in her recent conduct with regard to the Immaculate Conception."

Such conversations as these leave many impressions of painful interest on the mind. That persons, who have much in common, and are prompted by many considerations to entertain the kindliest feelings for each other, should differ, and differ widely, on matters of vast importance, may well be a subject for regret. But this may be alleviated in some degree by reflections derived from differences of circumstances over which they had no control, such as birth, country, and education. And we may be allowed to hope that, in the estimate made by the Divine Searcher of hearts, these circumstances will not be forgotten, and that allowance will be made for the infirmities of human nature which enfeeble and obscure the intellect of even the wisest among us. But there is one feeling of sadness which rises in the mind on such occasions as this, for which there is no such consolation. It is, that a Church should exist, which claims to be the only true form of Christianity, and which yet, if she acts up to her own principles, and executes her own laws, and repeats her own practices, would separate the dearest friends and relatives who may differ from each other

on these questions; and that she would require the one, being her own adherent, to betray the other into the hands of the Inquisition, to be delivered (if he did not recant) to the torture and the flames; and would honour and reward the informer for zeal to God and the Church, because he resisted the natural dictates of his heart, and denounced his friend or parent, and gave them up for certain destruction.[5]

Went and visited some other Churches,—S. Étienne des Monts and S. Germain des Près. In the way my companion informed me that the Order of Jesuits was recovering its hold on education in France, and now possesses establishments very numerously attended. In S. Germain des Près I copied the following prayer, addressed to S. Anne, the mother of the Blessed Virgin Mary:—

> "Anna, redde propitium,
> Per Natam, Natum Filium.
> Ste. Anne, par l'entremise de votre Fille,
> Rendez-nous propice le Fils qui est né d'Elle."

This Prayer was printed and pasted on the wall of the Church, and a little boy was praying before it. Here was a prayer to S. Anne that she would entreat her Daughter, the Virgin Mary, to ask her Son Christ to be propitious to the suppliant. Where is to be the end of such mediatorship? If the Virgin can command Christ, because she is His Mother ("jure Matris impera filio"), may not S. Anne command the Virgin for a like reason? And may not S. Anne's Mother, the Virgin's Grandmother, by parity of reasoning, command them both? And if the Virgin is to be regarded as "conçue sans péché," must not her Mother also?

[5] Camillus Campegius, who held the office of Inquisitor-general at Ferrara, thus writes (in his additions to the treatise of Zanchinus Ugolinus de hæreticis), c. 13. d.; "Hæc *unumquemque fidelem* et Catholicum adeò exstimulare deberent, ut absque judicio monitione citatione aut pœnâ pro communi Christianæ religionis bono ad accusandum seu denunciandum et testificandum omnes accurrerent. Quod etsi in causis omnibus servari deberet, in hoc tamen fidei Catholicæ negotio ardentius id peragendum esset, ubi incomparabilia præmia Dei Maximi liberalitate et sanctæ ejus Ecclesiæ benignitate consequimur."

Sept. 4, *Sunday morning.*—About one shop in three shut; more in the afternoon. Where so many shops are open, those tradesmen who close them appear to be deserving of respect, as making a sacrifice for religion. Perhaps, however, there is more of appearance here than reality. There is, I understand, a great difference at present between the manner in which Sunday is spent by the *bourgeoisie* of Paris, and that in which it is employed by the *classe ouvrière*. The bourgeoisie shut their shops, but the reason is, because Sunday is the day specially chosen for excursion trains ("trains de plaisir") and for *fêtes* in the environs of Paris. They close their shops and take themselves and their families to the Bois de Boulogne, St. Cloud, Versailles, Montmorency, or S. Germain. But the *classe ouvrière*, the masons and carpenters, act in a different way: they work hard on Sunday; but on the following day, Monday, they refuse to work at all, and give themselves up to the pleasures of the cabaret. Instances have occurred in which a contractor has offered to pay his men for Sunday, though no work should be done on that day, on condition that they should work hard on Monday. But the offer has been declined. Here is a warning to England as to the consequences which may arise if a precedent is established for making Sunday a day of amusement, by opening the Crystal Palace, &c., &c. on that day.

Went to the English Chapel at Rue d'Aguesseau. The Holy Communion administered; a very good congregation.

About 2 p.m. went into the Madeleine Church. Some Priests sitting in the choir, and a few boys in red scull-caps; and chanting the office with the accompaniment of some trombones. The congregation appeared to be paying little attention to the service. The Sermon was not to be till three o'clock, so I walked to another Church (S. Roch), where I found the Preacher just "monté en chaire." His subject was "l'usage qu'on doit faire de l'Évangile." Man, he said, is composed of body and soul; and soul is endued with "intelligence et amour." Almighty God has provided bread for the body; and for the soul He has given "l'Évangile et l'Eucharistie," both necessary. And in the course of the Sermon he stated that the Évangile is even more necessary to be

received than the "Eucharistie." For there might be circumstances under which it might be impossible to communicate in the Saints-Mystères, but no case could be imagined in which we were not bound to use the Évangile. After kneeling down and reciting the Ave Maria, he said that his subject would divide itself into four parts, our duty to the Gospel being fourfold:—

1. Posséder.
2. Lire.
3. Méditer.
4. Pratiquer.

1. Posséder. Let me ask, mes frères, combien des personnes parmi vous possèdent l'Évangile? Very few, I fear. But you are Christians; and the Gospel is the rule of your profession. The Gospel, therefore, ought to hold a place—the chief place—in your houses. If you enter the house of an architect or a physician you recognize immediately *his* profession by the *books* on his shelves. *You* are Christians; your profession ought to appear by the place you give to the Gospel in your house. And here, my brethren, those persons who belong to a different religion may serve to you as an example. What honour is paid by the Jews to the Books of Moses! How is the Koran revered by Mussulmans! And "les dissidents" also—the Protestants—what honour do they give to the Scriptures, which are not theirs; to the Scriptures, I say, "qu'ils nous ont volées. Considérez, mes frères, qu'est-ce que c'est l'Évangile? C'est l'histoire de Jésus Christ. C'est Son portrait: Oh! si nous possédions Sa véritable image,—les linéaments de Son Corps!" But it has not pleased Almighty God that this should be so.[6] But here, dans l'Évangile, nous avons l'image de Son âme. And if you are glad to have the pictures of your ancestors in your houses, if you look on them with honourable pride, how much more ought you to possess and venerate the portrait of your adorable Saviour, whose likeness is traced in the Gospel by an inspired pencil guided by the hand of God! But more; the Gospel is not only His Portrait, it is His

[6] It would seem therefore that the preacher did not accept the legend of S. Veronica, and of the "Sainte-Face" preserved in S. Peter's at Rome.

Testament, sealed with His Blood, in which He has left you "légataires universels" of inestimable graces and everlasting joys. How eager are you to pore over some *human* will in which you think that some *temporal* benefit is devised to you; how much more anxiously and joyfully ought you to be to possess and study *that* Testament in which you are made heirs of heaven! And as for its study; you cannot always come here to hear us preach, nor can we always be preaching to you. And sometimes you think us tedious when we preach, and you are weary, and fall asleep. But the Évangile is always open; God is always preaching there, there you can always hear Him. And when you are afflicted, when you are exhausted by daily toil, there you will find comfort and refreshment. L'Évangile est "remedium animorum"—the balm of the soul. There God vouchsafes to write to us. Remember what S. Anthony said when a letter was brought to him from the Emperor Constantine, and some person congratulated him on the honour of receiving an Epistle from so great a Sovereign. Oh, said he, but how much greater honour is it to receive letters from the King of kings! And such epistles we have in the Scriptures. Remember also the great Council of Nicæa, at which 325 Bishops were present; then the same Emperor Constantine sat on a lower seat than the Bishops, and in the midst of the Council was a glorious Throne glittering with gold and jewels: and for *whom* think you was that throne set? For some mighty king? No; it was for the Gospel. And that no one may be discouraged from studying the Gospel, recollect the example of Didymus of Alexandria, called "L'Aveugle," who had lost his sight, but yet had the Scriptures by heart, and with such exactitude, that when a Priest or a Bishop was preaching, and quoted or interpreted a text of Scripture amiss, he used to rise up in the Church and correct him. Remember the admirable advice concerning the study of Scripture given by S. Jerome in his excellent Treatise "Ad Nepotianum;" and the language of S. Cyprian when he sent some extracts from Scripture to a friend. I send you, he said, some wool from the Divine Lamb, without blemish and without spot; that you may make therewith a tissue—a

garment to cover, and warm, and defend you. Remember the words heard by S. Augustine from heaven, when he was in perplexity of mind before his conversion, "*Tolle, lege,*"—take the Scriptures and read them. So say I to you all: "*Tolle, lege;*" and meditate upon them in your hearts with prayer; and practise them in your lives.

This is a brief abstract of the discourse, which lasted more than an hour. After its conclusion, I inquired the name of the preacher. He was one of the Vicaires of the parish. I went to the Sacristy to inquire for him. He was "rentré au chœur," was the reply at first; but, however, this did not prove to be the case; he was "rentré chez lui." This being so, I went in quest of him, apologizing for the visit, especially when he was probably weary by the exertion of preaching. Received by him very courteously. He said he was rather hoarse with preaching, but begged me to stay. Having described the cause of my coming to Paris, and why I came to call upon him, I could not forbear expressing the great pleasure with which I had listened to his Sermon. And, "Monsieur l'Abbé, si tout le monde en France prêchait comme ça, alors nos divisions et disputes seraient bientôt terminées."

"Well," said he, "but as you are, I believe, a Ministre Anglican, there was one expression in my sermon which I regretted almost as soon as I uttered it, and for which I ought to ask your pardon."

"*That* expression, I suppose, was the one in which you spoke of us dissidents as having 'volé' the Scriptures from you."

"Précisément," he replied; "I ought not to have used *that* phrase: but you know, when one is 'emporté par la chaleur de son adresse,' some expressions may escape which ought not to be uttered."

"Yes, certainly; and you are aware that we dissidents maintain that we derive our Canon of Scripture,—*that* at least of the *Old* Testament, which does *not* correspond with *yours*, and cannot therefore come from *you*—we suppose that we derive *our* Canon of the *Old* Testament from our Blessed Lord and Saviour, Who received the same Books as *we*

receive, and no other. But this question 'tirerait à une longue controverse,' perhaps; and I came, Sir, not to argue, but to thank you. And as you have adverted to one expression in your discourse, may I take the liberty of observing that, if I heard correctly, you stated in your Sermon that the number of Bishops at the Nicene Council was 325?"

"Yes."

"But, if I recollect right, they were 318."

He turned to his shelves, and took down his Fleury. "Thank you for the remark; I believe I confounded the number of the Bishops with the date of the year in which the Council was held."

"You may remember that the number of the Nicene Bishops is remarkable, and was observed as such in ancient times, as identical with the number of Abraham's household servants" (Gen. xiv. 14).[7]

"Je n'avais pas fait ce rapprochement. Thank you for it."

[This is here noted to show that preaching from book, as is the practice in England, is not without some advantage in regard to precision, and as securing the preacher from the utterance of language in the pulpit, in the heat of a discourse, which he may afterwards regret in his calmer moments. This excellent Ecclesiastic was, I am sure, very sorry for accusing us of theft.]

"Yet," said he, "you must allow that all you possess of good is *derived* 'de notre sainte mère l'Église.'"

"It comes all to us from the Divine Head of the Church, by the agency of the Holy Spirit, derived to us through the Church Catholic, but not *through your* Church alone. But, Sir, I abstain from entering on these topics at present, especially after your fatigues of the day; only allow me to assure you of the great pleasure it gives us of the English Church to find persons with whom we have much in common,

[7] The reader may also remember that in Greek numerals 318 is represented by T I H, and that some of the early Fathers took pleasure in remarking that T is the symbol of the Cross, and I H the first letters of Ἰησοῦς. It is observable, also, that the letters in σταυρὸς makes 700, and in Ἰησοῦς (as Irenæus observes) 888.

especially in the sentiments uttered by you in your sermon to-day."

He thanked me for coming to see him, and I took my leave.

Monday, Sept. 5th.—Made some calls, but the persons were out. Passing by a book-shop, near the Place des Victoires, saw in the window a pièce de théâtre, which has now a very great run at Paris. It has just attained its 105th time of representation, and bears the ominous title, "Le Ciel et l'Enfer." It is played at the *Ambigu Comique*. A most profane performance. The Evil Spirit is here represented as a fripon and buffoon, and made the subject of jest! What a spectacle for men, women, and children to gaze at and laugh at! Could the Evil Spirit himself devise any more effective means for familiarizing them with himself and his associates, and his actions and abode, and for divesting them of their terrific awfulness, and even alluring the spectators to sport and sing with him as a playfellow! A priest was standing at the shop, so I asked him, was this the intellectual food of the people? It was astonishing, he said, but so it was. He turned the conversation, and said, "Êtes-vous Catholique, Monsieur?" "Oui,—mais je suis aussi Protestant." "Vous êtes Anglican?"

"Yes."

"I have been in England," he replied, "and at Westminster; and was much pleased with the 'Chant des Pseaumes' there, which seemed to me 'très-religieux.'"

"I am glad to hear it, and hope we may find more points of agreement when the two nations come to know one another better."

"Oh, oui, Monsieur, il est à espérer que moyennant les chemins de fer il se fasse quelque fusion. But my omnibus is coming by, and I must go; so bon jour."

Certainly, whatever may be thought of a *fusion* by means of railroads, both countries may learn something from each other; and railroads may not be without their use in promoting true Catholicity.

Went into a fine large Church close by, S. Eustache.

It must be a great blessing to the people to find the

Churches always open, especially in this great restless city. The influence of the quiet of the Church on their minds, when harassed and distracted by cares and business, and even on their bodies when exhausted by fatigue, must be salutary, soothing, and refreshing. The Churches, in such a case, are like spiritual ports and havens, stretching out their arms to rescue them from the storm; or like wells of water in a wilderness. Could not we imitate them in this?

True, the decorated altars, the images, the pictures, the perpetual masses said at once in various chapels in the same Church in the forenoon, supply objects to *them* which we could not wish to provide. And a R. C. Church even, when no service is going on, has a liturgical character of its own in its walls, altars, and ornaments. And, doubtless, as matters are now, there is great evil in this; for the religion which depends so much on such external objects, and the devotion which is so much directed to those objects, is in danger of becoming external, and of declining into superstition. You see two images of a Madonna in one and the same Church: the one image wholly neglected, the other adorned with gilded chaplets, and honoured with lighted candles, and thronged with worshippers, book in hand, kneeling before it. Is not this creature-worship? Is it not idolatry? I know it is said that images are channels of grace, that they are "illustrées par les grâces de Dieu," and that it pleases Almighty God to vouchsafe graces by means of one image rather than by another. If so, it would seem that we ought always to be at work making images, in hope that they may be adopted by the Almighty as media of grace to us; and that our graces would increase in proportion to the multitude of our images. And it is said that in kneeling before an image, and offering prayers, the object of adoration is Almighty God, who uses the image as a medium of grace. But is this true? and if it were, is it the popular idea? These poor women who kneel before the image of the Madonna, recently crowned by the Pope with so much pomp and splendour, do they address their prayers to the Almighty alone? Do they honour *Him?* Do they look on the

Madonna and her image only as instruments—viaducts of grace? Is not their homage paid to *them?* The golden crown, sent from Rome to *this* image, the honour of a coronation volunteered to *it,* and not granted to the Emperor of the French; the galaxy of candles blazing before *it;* the vast sums of money lavished upon it, as distinguished from all other images,—these acts of honour must tend to concentrate the eyes and rivet the minds of the people, especially the poor, on *this* image, and direct their adoration to it.

Let me here observe, that the manner in which our Blessed Lord is almost always represented by statues and pictures here, in regard to His human Mother, tends to confound the people's ideas with respect to them individually and relatively. Our Lord is represented as an infant in the arms of His mother. If He wears a crown, she wears a crown also; but her crown is twice as fair as His crown.[8] Thus, in His case, the idea of the *humanity* is brought prominently forward; and that idea is the idea of a humanity *inferior* to that of another,—the humanity of a Child in relation to that of a Mother. This is the idea presented to the eyes of the people, and kept constantly before them. And we know what influence the eye has in forming the faith of a Nation, and in moulding its religious Worship. It has more power than the sound of a thousand sermons:—

> "Segnius irritant animos demissa per *aurem*
> Quam quæ sunt *oculis* subjecta fidelibus."

Hence such expressions as these in prayers to the Virgin: "Jure *Matris impera Filio.* Monstra te esse *Matrem.*" "Vous avez sur Sa bonté la *puissance d'une Mère.*" . . . . How near Romanism approaches to Socinianism!

Sept. 8.—Went in the evening to the Church of Notre Dame des Victoires: this day being kept as the Festival of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary. The Church thronged;

[8] The early painters represented the Blessed Virgin adoring her Divine Son; their successors placed the Divine Son in the Blessed Virgin's arms; but now, in some cases, the Divine Son has disappeared, and the Blessed Virgin stands alone on the altar (as in the church of the Madeleine at Paris), with her arms outstretched, "comme dispensatrice de toutes les graces"—to quote a French friend, who deplored this.

the greater proportion being women of the middle class. A great deal of time was taken in lighting the lamps, and the almost innumerable candles which blazed upon the Altar before the Image of the Virgin, crowned and adorned with gold and jewels by the Pope on the 10th of last July. At length the Priests, headed by the Curé (M. Desgenettes), came in from the sacristy and knelt before the Altar. Some hymns were sung in French to very operatic tunes. One of these began with the words "Triomphez, Reine des cieux," and contains these words:—

> "Des plus heureux dons,
> C'est de la main de Marie,
> Enfans, que nous les tenons:
> Le ciel et la terre,
> Ravis de lui plaire,
> Chantent ses appas."

This, with the other hymns used on these occasions, may be seen in a book published for the use of the Archiconfrérie, and affords a melancholy proof that much of the worship offered in this Church (and the same may be said of many other Churches in France) is not worship of God; and that Christianity has been almost supplanted by Mariolatry.

The hymns were followed by some chants of a graver tone; then came the sermon. The preacher was of the Order of Maristes, and his name (I think) was De Place. His discourse was on the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin; and I can only describe it as a fable of nearly an hour. He called the Virgin "La source de notre salut, qui avait offert son Divin Fils au Père Éternel sur l'autel de la croix," for our sakes. He dilated on her love to us, and especially to "pauvres pécheurs;" and called upon us "assister à un berceau, le berceau de la très Sainte Vierge;" and then came a glowing description of the Virgin as an infant, lying in her cradle, praying, "ses petites mains jointes," for "pauvres pécheurs;" and a great deal more of such rhapsodies. Then M. Desgenettes, the Curé, mounted the pulpit, and a candle was lighted for him there, and he took out a paper and read a catalogue of persons for whom the prayers of the Confrérie were desired, viz.—

So many "*jeunes personnes.*"
So many "*vieillards.*"
So many "*Protestants.*"
So many "*Juifs,*" &c.
So many "*affligés.*"
So many "*Diocèses*" and so many "*Évêques.*"
So many "*exposés à des tentations.*"

He then said something more about the Fête of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, sitting with his pocket-handkerchief before him, and taking snuff; and informed the congregation that he had been making some researches in ancient historians concerning the birth of the Virgin, and had made some interesting discoveries thereupon, which he would communicate to them if they would come next Sunday to hear him.

This discourse was followed by the chanting of some Psalms in a very effective manner; and this part of the service was very striking and edifying, if it was understood by the people, for it was in Latin. The Psalms chanted were first the 109th, Dixit Dominus Domino Meo; Ps. 112, Laudate, Pueri, Dominum; Ps. 121, Lætatus sum in his quæ dicta sunt mihi; Ps. 126, Nisi Dominus ædificaverit Domum; Ps. 147, Lauda, Jerusalem, Dominum. Then came a Hymn to the Virgin:—

"Ave Maris stella,
Dei Mater Alma,
Atque semper Virgo,
Felix cœli Porta.

Solve vincla reis,
Profer lumen cæcis,
Mala nostra pelle,
Bona cuncta posce.

Monstra Te esse Matrem,
Sumat per Te preces,
Qui pro nobis Natus
Tulit esse Tuus."
&c. &c.

Then came the Magnificat and the Litanies of the Virgin, in which she is called—

"Refugium peccatorum,
Salus infirmorum,
Regina Angelorum,
Regina sine labe concepta."
&c. &c.

The singing was general, and appeared to be very earnest; and the service suggested many reflections. This was a weekday, and the Church, a large one, was crowded with worshippers who remained here for more than two hours, and took a zealous part in the devotions. How was this effected? The answer may perhaps be—

1. The service was in the evening, when the persons present had done their work.

2. The Church was brilliantly lighted, and was made very attractive by this splendid display.

3 The hymns sung had been often repeated, and were very familiar to the people. Some of the music was of a very popular kind.

4. Many of those present were enrolled on the books of the Confraternity, and their affections were enlisted in its service; they had an individual concern and interest in its proceedings. These religious offices were like festive meetings of a guild.

5. The services were made very attractive in a religious point of view. Indeed, both in the music (in some respects) and in the tone of doctrine which prevailed, they seemed to bear a strong resemblance to some developments which have been given by some to Methodism. They appeared to proceed upon the principle, that in order to be a special favourite of heaven, it is almost necessary to have been a great sinner. A difference is, that here the Blessed Virgin is made to hold the place which is given in those phases of Methodism to her Divine Son. The Confraternity of Notre Dame have, in some respects, a great advantage in the womanhood and maternity of the Blessed Virgin, which they well know how to turn to the best account, as in the following address to her:—

"Montre Toi notre mère;
De tes enfans chéris

Reçois l'humble prière
Pour l'offrir à ton fils ;
Une mère peut-elle
Essuyer un refus ?
O Marie, O ma tendre Mère !
Que de pleurs je vous ai coûtés !
J'ai péché ! Mais pourtant j'espère,
J'espère tout de vos bontés."

We could not quit this crowded Church without an earnest wish that a voice from heaven could have given a right impulse to the spirit of devotion which there manifested itself; and which (as far as zeal and alacrity are concerned) might supply matter for imitation to other religious communities.

An ecclesiastical R. C. acquaintance called. Continuing the conversation concerning the Philosophumena, he asked whether it was true that the Delegates of the Oxford Press had changed the title of the work; and that, whereas it had been at first advertised by them as "*Origenis* Philosophumena," they *now* advertised it as "Origenis *sive potius Hippolyti* Philosophumena." I said that I believed this might be the case, and that they had good reasons for doing so. He dilated on the great benefits arising to the Church of France and the World from the Papal authority, and on the increasing influence of that authority. As to the first, he said, we had, as you know, a most vexatious controversy a little while ago in France, concerning the use to be made of the ancient Classics in Education. The laity were divided on this subject; the Clergy were divided; the Bishops were divided; about thirty took part on one side and thirty on the other. "Voilà le schisme," was the general cry. But no. Three lines arrive from Rome, the combatants lay down their arms, and all is peace.

And as to the increasing influence of Rome, observe (he added) this other remarkable fact. "A few years since an appeal was made to the wisdom of the French Church in behalf of the *Roman* Liturgy. The benefits of Liturgical Uniformity were pointed out; the duty of conformity to Rome was insisted on. Many were astonished, some were indignant, few thought the proposition feasible. What!

(it was said) would you have us give up our own Gallican Breviaries, and sacrifice our religious nationality? How many pious minds would be shocked, how many prejudices would be armed against us! How many professional interests involved in the printing of Diocesan Breviaries would be sacrificed! The suggestion excited a storm. But a little time passed away; men's minds became calm; they reflected quietly on the matter. Gradually diocese after diocese discarded its own peculiar use, and now, of about eighty dioceses in France, there are not, I think, above twelve in which the 'Breviarium Romanum' is *not* received as *the* Breviary of the Diocese."

Let me add here some brief notes.

The France of Napoleon the First drove the Pope from Rome, the France of Napoleon the Third has restored him to Rome, and maintains him at Rome. Constitutionally France tolerates various Creeds, and grants a stipend to their Ministers, and yet she has now dislodged Austria from her religious pre-eminence even in Italy, and displays herself even there as the "first Roman Catholic power of Europe and the World—the 'fille aînée de l'Église.'" She holds her shield over the Roman Pontiff; she is the Champion of the Papacy at Rome, and would plant the tricolor flag over the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. Thus she has constituted herself the "Head of a so-called 'Catholic League.'" This appears to be the post of honour which she now claims to herself among the Western Nations of Europe. And though it is doubtless true, that a large part of the population of France have little love for the Papacy as such, yet, if it can be made for a time a "nom de guerre," for the consolidation of national power, and for the advancement of national glory, and for the humiliation of rival powers, is there not reason to think that it will be gladly and generally accepted as a watchword of battle, and an omen of victory? Thus *Romanism*, though it may be weak as a *Religion*, is strong as a *Policy*.

No war has ever had great and permanent success which has not had a religious symbol; Rome wields a tremendous power over the conscience; and the symbol on one side, in

some future conflicts, may be the Cross of Christianity intersected by the Keys of Rome, and shadowed by the tricolor flag of France.

It seems that the present crisis is remarkable in other respects. Now, in the middle of the nineteenth century, a large party in France, and a considerable portion of Europe, is *falling back* into the modes of thought and action of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries as to the Papacy.

This may be instanced in the following particulars :—

The reproduction of the Ultramontane theory by the French Church, even in temporal matters, concerning the powers of the Papacy—its Supremacy and Infallibility. For example, M. l'Abbé Morel supports the claim of the Pope to release subjects from oaths of allegiance.

This is connected with the reception of the *Roman Breviary* in France. For together with it certain Church Collects and Lessons are brought in, which were formerly expunged, even in Spain, Naples, and Austria, as subversive of civil allegiance, and as tending to propagate sedition in the name of Religion. Such is the Office in the Roman Breviary for May 5th, where Pope Pius V., who published a Bull excommunicating and dethroning Queen Elizabeth, is canonized as a Saint, and lauded as an Inflexible Inquisitor, and for "crushing the enemies of the Church;" and that for May 25th, where Pope Gregory VII., also canonized as a Saint, is commemorated with praise for having deprived "the Emperor Henry of his Crown, and for having absolved his subjects from their oath of allegiance."

The question, therefore, of the *change of Breviary* has, secretly and silently, a very important political bearing. The reception of the *Roman* Breviary (as some who are the most anxious for that reception well know) is tantamount to a reception of Hildebrandine principles, and to a revival of Hildebrandine practices, in France.

As to the estimate of the actions of individual Popes, we are now called upon by Romanist Writers in France to unlearn our history. Not merely (we are assured) do the characters of such Popes as Boniface VIII., Gregory VII., Innocent III., and Pius V., require no apology, but these

Pontiffs are now to be regarded as models for imitation, as patterns for Popes, and as objects of special veneration by the Clergy and Laity, for faith, saintliness, and courage.

The documents of Roman Ecclesiastical History, which were rejected as spurious by such learned R. C. writers of the French Church as Fleury, Dupin, and Tillemont (who would now, I suppose, be proscribed as Jansenists), are not only received as genuine and true, however late may be their origin, and however inconsistent they may be with known historical facts, but they are to be made the groundwork of Church history; and all other documents are to be corrected by them and conformed to them. In illustration of this assertion, let me specify the history of S. Cecilia (Histoire de Ste. Cécile, Vierge Romaine et Martyre), the second edition of which has appeared at Paris in the present year. It is from the pen of a distinguished writer, Dom Guéranger, one of the most respectable Ecclesiastics of France, and in great esteem for learning. Love of truth constrains me to say, that this volume, which professes to be a work of critical research, and is doubtless generally received as such, can only be described as a fascinating religious Romance; as any one may see who will carefully compare it with the article of Tillemont[9] on the history of S. Cecilia.

This revival of the spirit of Mediævalism shows itself also in many practices as well as doctrines. For example—

1. We see bands of Pilgrims setting out from Paris to the Holy Land, to worship at the Holy Places.

2. We behold the Catacombs of Rome worked with increased activity, as if they were a spiritual California. Bones and skeletons are exhumed from their quiet abodes, and carried to the sacred mint of Reliques at Rome; thence, when stamped with Papal authority, they are issued throughout the world, and are received with pomp and homage in the principal cities of France, and are displayed to the devotion of crowded congregations bowing before them.

3. The worship of the Blessed Virgin, superseding the Religion of Christ, is too obvious to need to be insisted upon.

[9] Mémoires Ecclés. iii. 259. 689. ed. 1701.

4. Reports of Miracles, Apparitions, &c., are promulgated by the Church with great confidence and activity. In fact, the Apocalyptic prophecies seem to be receiving fulfilment; the mysterious Power, there foreshadowed, is labouring with restless energy to make every one receive its mark, and with marvellous success.

That this Power will not also persecute, whenever it has the means of doing so, let any one believe who reads what it has done and is doing—if he can. I cannot. Many and cogent proofs are now visible that it will. Already its advocates use such language as this: "*Protestants* have no right to be intolerant, *they* have no right to persecute, they ought to allow and encourage every form of error, for *they* have no 'certitude de la foi.' But with *Rome* it is far otherwise. She *has* the truth; she *alone* has it; she is *sure* that she has it; therefore it is *her duty* to use all means in her power to promote it. And if she cannot do so by persuasion, she must do it by force."

The following language has been used by a distinguished writer, who has been received in the present year with marked favour by the Pope: "Pour moi, ce que je regrette, je l'avoue franchement, c'est qu'on n'ait pas *brulé* Jean Hus *plus tôt*, et qu'on n'ait pas *brulé* également Luther; c'est qu'il ne soit pas trouvé quelque prince assez *pieux* et assez politique pour mouvoir une croisade contre les Protestants!"

Is there any mode of averting these evils?

First, Prayer for the grace of God, and a sound knowledge of His Holy Word. It is not any knowledge, or rather a shadow of knowledge, that will answer the purpose, such as is too often found among those Protestant Communities which have renounced the authority of the Church Universal, for the dictates of their own wills, and therefore are rent asunder by divisions. They can never resist Rome with any hope of success.

And next to Divine Grace, and the Divine Word, we must look to sound Learning, and especially to an accurate study of early Church History, for the manifestation of the Truth, and for the exposure of the cheats and impostures now palmed upon an unsuspecting world under the venerable

name of Christian Antiquity. The Church of Rome has now many hearts and hands stirred by a spirit similar to that which actuated the mind, and produced the works, of her illustrious annalist Cardinal Baronius; and it will fare ill for the cause of Christianity in England, if our English Universities, and English Cathedrals, do not raise up a race of students, animated by the piety, and warmed by the zeal, and endowed with the erudition of such men as adorned them in former times.

Tuesday, Sept. 13.—Called on the Protestant Pasteur ——

It has been my wish, in this short visit, now drawing to a close, to hear what is said by different parties and persons. No one can have a just knowledge of the operation, condition, and prospects of Religion in France, who does not cultivate acquaintance with French Protestants, as well as with Roman Catholics. I have found no disposition in the Protestants here to magnify their own importance,—rather the contrary. And for this reason, as well as others, their view of public matters, especially religious, is entitled to respect and consideration.

Besides, their present position is full of useful instruction and warning to England. If the Church of France could be reformed on such principles as would restore it to primitive integrity and purity in doctrine, discipline, and ritual (such as we believe were the principles of the English Reformation, however they might be affected in practice by human infirmities), there seems good reason to believe that a moral, religious, and social regeneration would be effected in this country. But if the Church of England is either to be Romanized upwards, or to be Puritanized downwards, then it is not unlikely that, in social and religious respects, the condition of England will not be less unsettled and less unhappy than that of France. And if any one needs to be convinced that Calvinism and Lutheranism, properly so called, are incompetent to make head against Rome, let him study the history and present condition of Protestantism in France.

The Pasteur —— lamented the formation of a "Conseil Central," by the present Government, for the Église Évangelique, which brought that Church under the control of a

few persons—a sort of commission—now nominated by the State, and had paralyzed the action of their Synods. "This act (he said) had done much to increase party spirit among them, and to multiply divisions. The condition of the Lutheran Communion in France was still worse in this respect. In fact, both forms of Protestantism were now very much under secular control, and the State was now by no means well affected to the Protestant cause."

Soon after these paragraphs were written an event took place which affords a striking corroboration of some of the observations made above (page 126), and may be regarded as one of the signs of the times, and may fitly receive some notice here.

An ancient Latin Inscription was discovered on April 1st, 1842, in the Catacombs at Rome, near the Via Salaria: it is as follows:—

AURELIAE THEUDOSIAE
BENIGNISSIMAE ET
INCOMPARABILI FEMINAE
AURELIUS OPTATUS
CONJUGI INNOCENTISSIMAE
DEPOS. PR. KAL. DEC.
NAT. AMBIANA
B. M. F.[1]

i. e.:—

To Aurelia Theudosia,
A most benign
And incomparable Woman,
Aurelius Optatus,
To his most innocent Wife,
Buried xxxth November,
To her well-deserving
He placed this monument.

I reserve the words "NAT. AMBIANA" to be noticed by and by.

This Inscription, which is engraven on a marble slab, records the burial of a certain Theudosia. Near it were found

[1] i. e. *Bene merenti fecit.*

some bones, which were supposed to be her mortal remains. As she was interred in the Catacombs, she was presumed to be a *Christian.* A phial, *supposed* to have once contained blood, was found near the remains. Hence Theudosia was believed by some Roman Catholics, to have been a Christian *Martyr.* Antiquarians are divided in opinion as to the nature and purport of this evidence. Some maintain that wherever a phial is found in the catacombs, there is the grave of a Martyr. Other archæologists are of opinion that "what in these phials is called blood is the deposit of the wine used in the Communion."[2]

However this may be, these remains, supposed to be the relics of Aurelia Theudosia, were not allowed to remain unmolested in the peaceful dormitory of the dead. No heed was paid to the solemn language of that other Christian Inscription[3] once seen in the Catacombs at Rome :—

MALE PEREAT
INSEPULTUS JACEAT
NON RESURGAT
CUM JUDA PARTEM HABEAT
SI QUIS SEPULCRUM HOC VIOLAVERIT.

i. e. :—

May that man perish miserably,
May he lie unburied,
May he not rise again,
May he have his portion with Judas,
Who violates this Grave.

The grave was rifled of its contents. The sacred remains of this reputed Christian Woman—this beloved Wife—this supposed Christian Martyr, Theudosia, were exhumed from the privacy of the tomb, and were exposed to the gaze of a morbid curiosity. The sepulchral tablet was torn from its place. They were subjected to the critical scrutiny of a Roman Tribunal—the "Congregation of Relics." A posthumous Inquest was held on the body by this tribunal more than 1300 years after its decease, and a Verdict was pro-

[2] Bunsen, Hippolytus, i. p. 227.
[3] Arringhi, Roma Subterranea, iii. c. 23, p. 436, ed. Arnhem, 1671.

nounced—that the remains in question were those of Theudosia—that Theudosia was a Christian—a Saint—a Martyr—and a *native of Amiens in France.*

The judicial sentence of the Roman Tribunal was ratified by the authority of the Supreme Pontiff, Pius IX. Nor was this all. The Pope decreed that the name of Theudosia should be added to the Ritual of the Church of Amiens;[4] that an office should be inserted there in her honour; and that henceforth Masses should be said in her name in all the parishes of the Diocese of Amiens, and an annual festival be celebrated in her memory.

The matter did not rest here. These mortal remains, having been disinterred from the Catacombs of Rome, must now take a longer journey: they must be transported to Amiens in France. Accordingly to Amiens they came, where they were received, on the 12th Oct., 1853, with extraordinary pomp of music, and banners, and illuminations, and processions, and triumphal arches, and with a large concourse of Cardinals (one of whom was Cardinal Wiseman), Archbishops (among whom were the Archbishops of Sens, Cambrai, Tuam (Dr. MacHale), Dublin (Dr. Cullen), Babylon (Trioche), and Bishops, Twenty-eight in number; and they were carried in a magnificent car of triumph to the Cathedral Church of Amiens, and sermons[5] were there preached to immense

[4] "Le Souverain-Pontife a fait plus encore notre sainte Amienoise," M. l'Abbé Gerbet, Vicar-General of Amiens thus writes; "il a voulu que son office fût inséré dans notre liturgie, qu'on célébrât la messe en son honneur dans toutes les paroisses, qu'on lui consacrât une fête annuelle qui prît place parmi nos solennités les plus saintes. L'assistance divine, qui dirige le Saint-Siége dans les prescriptions du culte si étroitement lié à la foi, vient sceller en quelque sorte les autres garanties, appuyées sur les précautions les plus scrupuleuses que la prudence humaine puisse inspirer."

And the Bishop of Amiens has published the following words: "Sainte Theodosie est pour nous la première-née peut-être de cette Église, *qui paya notre rançon, qui mérita le don de la foi apporté* bientôt après elle à nos aïeux par Saint Firmin. Nous sommes nés de son sang: *elle nous enfanta par sa mort à l'immortalité.*"

[5] The first was preached by Cardinal Wiseman, and in the published report of his Discourse are the following words: "Elle porte donc avec elle le flambeau de la foi primitive pour éclairer et pour fortifier la nôtre;

congregations, congratulating the inhabitants of that city on the acquisition of the body of a Saint and Martyr born within their walls, and assuring them that these relics might be regarded by them as a pledge of the Divine favour and protection to the city, and exhorting them to imitate Theudosia in their lives, and to invoke Theudosia in their prayers. In addition to this, the newly canonized Saint of Amiens received the homage of the Imperial dynasty of France.

The first anniversary of the festival (Thursday, Oct. 12, 1854), was honoured by the presence of the Emperor Napoleon III., and of the Empress Eugénie, attended by M. Fortoul, Minister of Public Instruction, and by Monsignor Sacconi, the Papal Nuncio in France, and by Monsignor Gillies, "Archbishop of Edinburgh," who preached the sermon in honour of the supposed Martyr and Saint of Amiens.

A Chapel also was erected to her honour, in the Cathedral of Amiens, and a Latin Inscription was there placed, which records that, on the 28th day of Oct. 1853, "the Emperor Napoleon III., and the Empress Eugénie, came thither on a

que cette lumière céleste pénétre dans les cœurs non moins que dans l'intelligence des fidèles. Oui, Theudosie, vous l'avez déjà fait. Vos ossements humiliés pour Jésus Christ ont tressailli aujourd'hui de joie, *Exultabunt ossa humiliata*, et nous ont communiqué leurs transports d'allégresse. Et cette joie, cette fête auront des résultats durables, elles jettent pour l'avenir les fondements d'une plus solide et plus ferme piété. *Ce qu'est Lucie pour Syracuse, Agathe pour Catane, Geneviève pour Paris, Agnès* pour *Rome, Theudosie* le sera, l'est déjà pour *Amiens*. Elle deviendra l'objet d'une *dévotion chaque jour plus tendre, à laquelle* cette vénération profonde qu'inspire la mémoire des saints pontifes et martyrs des premiers temps donne un caractère particulier. Et si jusqu'à présent, inconnue des vôtres, vous avez cependant prié pour eux, combien plus désormais invoquée par eux, avec ferveur et confiance, ne redoublerez-vous pas vos puissantes intercessions auprès du Dieu des martyrs? Commencez donc dès aujourd'hui à bénir votre ville et votre peuple, au milieu desquels vous allez reposer jusqu'à votre glorieuse résurrection."

By a remarkable coincidence, the fête at Amiens, for the translation of Theudosia, in which the Roman Ecclesiastic, who assumed the title of Archbishop of Westminster, took so prominent a part, occurred on the eve of the anniversary of the translation of King Edward the Confessor, the day on which some who acknowledge the Cardinal as their Archbishop presented themselves at Westminster Abbey in order to worship at the shrine of Edward the Confessor. The scene at Amiens is a rehearsal of what would be enacted in England, if their will were complied with.

pilgrimage ('piâ peregrinatione'), and gave a contribution to the adornment of the said Chapel."

Such were the results of the discovery.

Having been brought to this conclusion, let us now pause a moment, and review the process of evidence by which we have been conducted thither.

What is the basis of demonstration on which this grand superstructure rests? Is anything known of Theudosia? Absolutely nothing. No record has been cited to show that she was a Christian, none that she was a Martyr. The belief that she was so, rests solely on the nature of the place in which she was found, and on the phial discovered near the remains. None has been adduced that she was a *native of Amiens*.

Her history is confined to the Latin Inscription quoted above. It has, indeed, been argued by Roman Antiquarians, it has been resolved by the Roman Congregation of Relics, and by the Supreme Pontiff himself, that this Inscription is sufficient to evince that Theudosia was a *native of Amiens*. And, relying on their authority, the Vicar-General of Amiens, M. l'Abbé Gerbet (now nominated to the Episcopal See of Perpignan), has written a Treatise in honour of Theudosia, as a Patron Saint of Amiens;[6] and the Bishop of Amiens has received her as such in the Cathedral of that city, and a large number of Bishops, Clergy, and people flocked to Amiens to welcome her on the 12th of October; and her name has been added to the Calendar of Saints, and is to be venerated year after year on a solemn Anniversary of the Church.

All this is true. And here is a sad and striking example (may it prove a salutary warning!) of the unbounded confidence and reckless audacity with which the Church of Rome now speculates on the credulity of Europe, and dictates acts of Worship and articles of Faith. Is it not also an evidence of her infatuation, and, perhaps, an omen of her fall?

Let the candid reader examine the inscription in question. There he will see the words NAT. AMBIANA. The Antiqua-

[6] The title of the work is "Le Livre de Sainte Theudosie, Amiens," 1854, with plates. It consists of 222 pages in quarto.

rians of Rome translate them thus, "Born at Ambianum, or Amiens." And they apply them to Theudosia. And the Roman Pontiff sanctions this translation; he authorizes this application; and the Bishop of Amiens, and many of his colleagues, and Clergy, and people act upon it. It has force to modify their Liturgy, and is made the groundwork of their prayers. But, is it a correct translation? In the solemn work of Religious Worship wise men will proceed warily. And is this translation so manifestly true that a reasonable inquirer can be satisfied with it? And, much more (on the supposition that the adoration of Saints is in in any case not unlawful), is this translation so certain, is it so incontrovertible, that the Church and Diocese of Amiens, and the whole Christian world may safely accept it as a sufficient warrant for acts of religious veneration to Theudosia, as a Saint born at Amiens, and as a patron of that city?

Assuredly not. It is by no means clear that the words NAT. AMBIANA refer to Theudosia at all. Indeed the laws of grammatical construction would seem to forbid such an application. Whatever may be the powers of the Papacy, spiritual or temporal, it cannot cancel the canons of criticism. Whatever it may do for the unity of the Church, it cannot destroy the concords of Grammar. It cannot convert *Ambiana* into a dative case and make it agree with *Theudosiae*. It cannot force *Ambiana* to *follow* the word "fecit." A grammarian of old said to a Roman Emperor, "Your Majesty may give the freedom of city to *men*, but not to *words*." The same may be said of the Pope.

But suppose that NAT. AMBIANA *does* refer to Theudosia. What follows? Rome would gain nothing from that concession. She can never prove thereby that Theudosia was *born in the city of Amiens*. She can never justify herself in propounding Theudosia as a Saint of Amiens, to be venerated as such in the offices of religion, with the homage of its inhabitants.

It is, indeed, strange that any who have breathed the air of Italy and Rome should ever have translated the words "NAT. AMBIANA" *born at Amiens*. A native of *France*, tempted by the specious analogies of language, might, per-

haps, be betrayed into the error of rendering them "*née* Amienoise." And this the Bishop of Amiens has done: this the Vicar-General of Amiens has done.[7] Let them be pardoned for it. But that a "Roman Congregation of Relics" should do this; that a Bishop of Rome, calling himself infallible, should do it—this would surpass belief, if we did not know by experience into what illusions men are betrayed, when they have wrought themselves up to the presumptuous imagination that they cannot err;

"Nihil est quod credere de se
Non possit, quum laudatur Dis æqua potestas."

But what would Pope Gregory the First have said, if some Anglo-Saxon converts, seeing the words NAT. ROMANA in a Latin Inscription, had rendered them "*born at Rome*"?

The fact is, that in this Inscription the word *Nat.* is *not* an abreviation for *Nata,* but for *Natio* or for *Natione.* And marvellous it is, that the "Congregation of Relics," and the Roman Archæologists, and the Bishop of Rome, should have forgotten this, when they had before them several

[7] M. l'Abbé Gerbet, in his recent publication on SAINTE THEUDOSIE, translates the Inscription above quoted as follows (p. 127):—

À Aurélie Theudosie
Très bénigne et
Incomparable Femme,
Aurelius Optatus
À Son Épouse très innocente,
Déposée la veille des Kalendes de Decembre,
Née Amienoise,
Il a fait (cette epitaphe à *elle*) *bien méritante.*

Thus making "Ambiana" agree with "Theudosia;" and rendering "Nat. Ambiana" "Née Amienoise."

The Abbé frankly allows that this Inscription is the only extant document concerning Theudosia. "Nous n'avons aucun monument historique qui renferme quelques détails sur Sainte Theudosie. Les anciens Martyrologes romains et gallicans n'ont pas recueilli son nom." He states as the general opinion of the *present* Antiquarians of Rome that she was martyred between A.D. 253 and A.D. 275.

The Bishop of Amiens, in the "Avertissement" he has published on the subject, writes thus, "Nous ne nous arrêterons à prouver que Sainte Theudosie est une fille d'Amiens. C'est son mari, Aurelius Optatus, qui nous l'atteste 'NAT. AMBIANA,' *Née Amienoise.*"

examples of the same abbreviation in old Latin Inscriptions, collected even in such common books as those of Gerrard, Ursatus, and others. NAT. AMBIANA does *not* signify "born at Amiens" (a miserable solecism), but it signifies either "the *Ambian Nation*," in which case it is the nominative to *fecit*, or it means "an Ambian by Nation;" just as "NAT. PAN." signifies "a Pannonian by Nation," and "NAT. DALM." signifies "a Dalmatian by Nation."[8]

Besides, *if* Theudosia was a Saint and a Martyr (as the Roman Antiquaries imagine), it may easily be shown from other considerations that NAT. AMBIANA could *not* mean *born at Ambianum or Amiens*. For the age of *Martyrs* had passed away *before Amiens received* the name of *Ambianum*. In the age of Martyrs it was called Samanobria, Samanobriva, or Samarobriva (the name by which Cicero calls it), and was not called *Ambianum* till late in the fourth century,[9] probably not so soon.

Let it then be granted for argument's sake, that the words Nat. Ambiana *do* refer to Theudosia, then all that can reasonably be inferred from them is this, that she was an Ambian by *Nation*. Now, the AMBIANI inhabited a wide tract of *country* (as the readers of Cæsar and Strabo will remember), and it would be as absurd to infer that a man was born at York, because he was born in Yorkshire, as to conclude that a woman was born at Ambianum (or Amiens), because she was an Ambian by *nation*. Indeed, there is nothing whatever to show that Theudosia might not have been born of Ambian parents at *Rome*, where she was buried, and where, if the Church of Rome had not been blinded by a spirit of delusion, and if she had not desired to blind others, the mortal remains of Theudosia would still be resting in peace.

The fact that such scenes as this which has now been described should be enacted in a large mercantile city like

[8] Cp. Ursati Explan. Notarum, Paris, 1723, p. 162.

[9] Sigebert, ad A.D. 382. Civitatem quam Antoninus Samanobriam (sive Samanobrivam) ab adjacente flumine appellavit Gratianus *mutato* nomine *Ambianis* fecit vocari.

It appears, therefore, that the name of Amiens, which had been Samanobria or Samanobriva till the time of Gratian, circ. A.D. 382, was then changed to *Ambianis*, and that *Ambianum* is still a later name.

Amiens, in the middle of the nineteenth century, and in the presence, and with the co-operation, of nearly thirty of the most distinguished members of the Roman Hierarchy, Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops, and with a vast concourse and applause of numberless spectators, and with the express sanction of the Pope himself, and that no voice should have been lifted up as yet to reveal its true character, and that some expressions of desire should have been uttered in England that such scenes should be imitated here, is one which may indeed well suggest sober, serious, and solemn reflections.

The present age boasts itself an age of Intellectual Illumination. It vaunts its own shrewdness and sagacity. It seems to suppose that by means of mechanical skill, and scientific attainments, and commercial activity, and diffusion of secular knowledge, it may laugh to scorn the attempts of Superstition. Vain-glorious imagination! Such an assurance is refuted by the recent fête of Amiens, and by other similar phænomena, which would almost seem to indicate that, instead of making true *progress*, Europe is *relapsing* into the ignorance and barbarism of the Dark Ages. May it not be feared, that, as a punishment for our own intellectual arrogance, presumption, and pride, Almighty God is blinding the eyes of those who think they see most clearly, that the spiritual vision of Europe is becoming dimmer and darker, so that it cannot behold the things which belong to its peace?

In the meantime, however, it is certain that sooner or later such delusions as these will be exposed to the eyes of the world. Then what a triumph will have been given by them to Scepticism and Infidelity! And what a retribution will then ensue! The joys of the recent fête at Amiens, and of other festivals like them, will be turned to shame and sorrow. The Infidel will point to them and say, with a sneer of savage scorn, You have endeavoured—you Teachers of Religion—you Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops, and Priests of the Roman Church—to palm a fraud upon us in the name of Christianity! Talk not to us of Christianity. If preached by you, it is false. You have deluded us enough. Now we

are free. The Bishop of Rome, who has given an authoritative sanction to this shameless fraud, asserts himself to be infallible, and anathematizes all who do not acknowledge him as such, and requires all men to accept as true and necessary to salvation what he propounds as such. And now *væ victis !* Look to yourselves.

What a powerful force of reaction may thus recoil on Religion ! What a sudden shock to the Faith of the world from such superstitions as these ! . . . . May the God of Truth and Peace avert their consequences ! He only can.

I cannot close these remarks without an expression of sorrowful surprise, that any persons should fall away to Rome ; and should commit the eternal interests of their souls to the guidance of a Church which sanctions by its authority such delusions and impostures, as that which has lately been palmed by her upon the Emperor, Empress, and People of France at Amiens.

MARTYRDOM OF S. POLYCARP.

From an examination of the apocryphal and legendary narrative of the martyrdom of Theudosia, let us pass to an authentic record of the death of S. Polycarp, the disciple of St. John, Bishop of Smyrna and Martyr.

The history of his martyrdom is related in the contemporary Epistle of the Church of Smyrna, which was transcribed by Caius, supposed by some (e. g. by Ussher) to be Caius the Roman Presbyter, from the copy of S. Irenæus who had conversed with S. Polycarp. (See Eccl. Smyrn. Epistola de S. Polycarpi Martyrio in Patr. Apostol. Coteler. ii. p. 204, Amstel. 1724, or Patr. Apostol. ed. Jacobson ii. p. 595, ed. 1838.)

In that interesting narrative of S. Polycarp's Martyrdom it is related (cap. 16), that the body of the venerable Bishop not being consumed by the fire which was kindled by the heathen officers, in order that he might be burnt therein,

orders were given to the executioner to *pierce him with a short sword*. The original words of the Letter are as follows, *πέρας οὖν ἰδόντες οἱ ἄνομοι οὐ δυνάμενον αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς δαπανηθῆναι, ἐκέλευσαν προσελθόντα αὐτῷ κομφέκτορα παραβῦσαι ξιφίδιον.* The Letter then proceeds to say,—according to the common reading of the passage,—*καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσαντος, ἐξῆλθε* ΠΕΡΙΣΤΕΡΑ ΚΑΙ *πλῆθος αἵματος ὥστε κατασβέσαι τὸ πῦρ, i. e.* and when he had done this "a DOVE came forth, and a stream of blood, so as to quench the fire."

The old Latin version is as follows: "Quumque hoc ita fuisset effectum, ecce subito, fluente sanguinis copia, COLUMBA processit de corpore, statim sopitum cruore cessit incendium." And in the modern accounts of S. Polycarp's Martyrdom in Church histories, the Dove has a prominent place in the picture.

But the DOVE, which is so strangely combined in this passage with the stream of blood, appears to owe its origin to an *erroneous reading* in our present copies of the Epistle. The Church historian, Eusebius, does not appear to have had it in his copy. He has transcribed the Epistle of the Church of Smyrna nearly verbatim into his History, and writes thus (Euseb. iv. 15), *ἐκέλευσαν κομφέκτορα παραβῦσαι ξίφος, καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσαντος ἐξῆλθε πλῆθος αἵματος.* And the Ecclesiastical Historian Nicephorus makes no mention of the *Dove* in his account of S. Polycarp's Martyrdom. His words are (iii. 35) *ἐκέλευόν τινα νύξαι ξίφει τὸν ἅγιον ἔξωθεν· οὗ δὴ γενομένου πλῆθος αἵματος ἐξερρύη, ὡς ἱκανῶς ἔχειν καταμαραίνειν τὴν ἀκμὴν τοῦ πυρός.*

If the Dove had been mentioned in the Epistle, as read by Eusebius and Nicephorus, it is not at all likely that they would have omitted to notice such a remarkable incident.

In short, the words ΠΕΡΙΣΤΕΡΑ᾽ ΚΑΙ᾽ appear to be corrupt, and I would suggest that they should be corrected into ΠΕΡΙ᾽ ΣΤΥ᾽ΡΑΚΑ, *i. e.* "*about the haft.*" The sense then would be, "No sooner did the executioner pierce the body with his steel, than a stream of blood flowed *upon the haft* of the short sword, so as to quench the fire." The word ΣΤΥ᾽ΡΑΞ signifies *ξύλον τοῦ ἀκοντίου* (Ammon. Valckenaer, p. 133), and the handle of a small sword or dagger,—as here

NOTES IN ITALY.

MILAN.

May 23*rd*, 1862.—Visited the Ambrosian Library. Found one of the Prefetti of the Library there, Dom. Giovanni Dozio, who has published some valuable treatises on the peculiarities of the Ambrosian Ritual.

His "Cerimoniale Ambrosiano," printed at Milan in 1853, is a learned and interesting work, and full of information concerning the history of that Ritual.

He had some volumes of Muratori and Mabillon before him, together with some ancient MSS., and informed me that he was engaged in collating and verifying the cartularies and other documents cited by those Authors. I asked him whether S. Carlo Borromeo, who revised the Ambrosian Ritual, had not made some modifications in it, as was done by Leo X., Paul V., and especially Urban VIII., in the Roman Breviary; and by the Archbishops of Paris in the Parisian Breviary in the eighteenth century with a view of giving them a more classical tone and character, with the aid of Santeul, Charles Coffin, and others, whose Hymns have been adopted by some in our own days as Hymns of the primitive Church. He said that something of that kind had been done in the Ambrosian Liturgy; and put into my hands a volume published at Milan in the present year by one of his brother Prefetti of the Ambrosian Library, Dom. Biraghi, which is entitled "Inni Sinceri di Sant' Ambrogio;" and in it the learned editor has endeavoured to restore the Hymns of that great Milanese Bishop to their primitive form. I procured

a copy of this work at the Library, and have been much gratified by it.

The Hymns of S. Ambrose have exercised a powerful influence on Christendom. They were designed by him to be a preventive against the errors of Arianism, and to confirm the profession of the true faith in the doctrine of the Trinity, and the Divinity of Christ. Hence their doctrinal character. In a letter[1] to his sister Marcellina, S. Ambrose says that the Arians complained that he had bewitched the people of Milan by his poetry; and he speaks of the effects produced by it in recovering the people from heresy to the true faith. S. Augustine testifies to the potent effect of those hymns upon his own mind after his baptism;[2] and says that he was melted to tears by them in the Church at Milan. S. Celestine, the friend of Augustine, replied to the Nestorians by quotations from the Hymns of S. Ambrose. Isidore of Seville, and Bede in England, bore testimony to their influence in their age and country: very many of them have found a permanent place in the liturgies of the Western Church.[3]

On account of the celebrity of S. Ambrose, many Hymns have been attributed to him which are not his. And on the other hand, some critics have gone into the opposite extreme, and have deprived him of his property. In the Benedictine edition of his works only twelve Hymns are admitted, and Dom. Biraghi shows reason for believing that only seven of these are genuine. This learned Milanese theologian has therefore had a difficult task to perform, and he seems to have done it well. He has examined all the Hymns which are called "Ambrosian," and he states the grounds on which a hymn has been admitted or rejected by himself. Does it correspond in matter and style to the genuine hymns of S. Ambrose? Does it offend against the rules of prosody, which, for the most part, were carefully observed by S. Ambrose? Does it neglect *metre*, and adopt *rhyme*, which was never used by him? Does it find a place

[1] Ambros. Epist. xx.

[2] S. Aug. Conf. ix. c. vi. c. vii.

[3] See Biraghi's preface to the Inni Sinceri di Sant' Ambrogio, p. 4.

in the ancient liturgical service-books of the Church of S. Ambrose, the Church of Milan? Has it been ascribed to S. Ambrose by authors contemporary with him, or who lived soon after him?

The application of these criteria to the Hymns commonly called Ambrosian, has resulted in the adoption of eighteen Hymns and four Poems as the genuine offspring of the great Milanese Bishop: these are Hymns for *Christmas Eve*, *Epiphany* (where he specifies Christ's *three* Manifestations, viz. to the Wise men, at His Baptism, and at Cana), *Paschal-tide;* these three are admirable specimens—*St. John* the Evangelist's Day; on *St. Peter* and *St. Paul,* in which he asserts St. Paul's equality to St. Peter;[4] for *Martyrs;* at *Cock-crow;* at *Daybreak*—a grand hymn, full of love and reverence for Christ the true Day-spring;[5] at the *third hour on Sundays;* at the *third hour* on other days; at the *sixth hour;* at the *ninth hour;* at *Evening.* On the Martyrdom of *S. Agnes* (a beautiful hymn); of *SS. Victor, Nabor,* and *Felix,* martyred at Milan; of *SS. Protasius* and *Gervasius;* of *S. Laurence,* Archdeacon of Rome. Hymn to be sung by *Virgins;* Verses on the *Baptistery;* Epitaph on his brother Satyrus; on the Basilica Romana at Milan; Couplets on the paintings from the Bible, in the Basilica Ambrosiana.

The learned Editor favours his readers with a well-drawn character of the genuine Hymns of S. Ambrose, which, in those days when so much is written on Hymnology, may be interesting to many:—

[4] "Primus Petrus Apostolus,
Nec Paulus impar gratiâ,
Electionis vas sacræ
Petri adæquavit fidem;"

and so in his treatise on the Holy Spirit, lib. ii. ad fin. "Nec Paulus inferior Petro."

[5] "Splendor Paternæ gloriæ,
De luce lucem proferens,
Lux lucis, et fons luminis,
Diem Dies illuminans,
Verusque Sol, illabere,
Micans nitore perpeti,
Jubarque Sancti Spiritûs
Infunde nostris sensibus."

What noble lines!

"S. Ambrose has a style peculiar to himself, clear, sweet, and yet vigorous, grand, and noble: wonderful closeness of thoughts; singular brevity of expression. In his Hymns he never allows himself to be led away by poetical prettiness, but loves sublime doctrinal verities; he soars aloft with a bold flight to the contemplation of the Ever-Blessed Trinity, the mysteries of Heaven, the divine morality of the Gospel; and prefers the vivid and homely language of Scripture to a flowery and fascinating style.

"There are no glittering flashes; but his hymns beam brightly with a calm, severe, and spiritual enthusiasm; there is not much of tender sentiment, but there is the courage of the Cross, the power of Faith, the Victory of the Gospel over the World. This being so, we cannot assign to him certain Hymns, which have indeed a religious sentiment, but are without vigour, without clear dogmatic views, without elevated thoughts.[6] He wrote his Hymns, not because he was excited by poetical fire, nor as an innocent solace and refreshment to himself, but in order to supply instruction, and minister wholesome spiritual food to the flock committed to his care. And he reaped the fruit of his labours, beyond his most sanguine expectations, as he himself testifies, and his biographer Paulinus records. The people of Milan, and a large part of the Western world, were rescued from Arianism, and were confirmed in the faith, in no small degree, by the Hymns of S. Ambrose."[7]

May not this fact be instructive to others? May it not remind us that Hymnology like that of S. Ambrose may be a very effective instrument in recovering our own population to an intelligent appreciation and love of the doctrines of Christianity, and of the discipline, and worship of the Christian Church?

Went from the Ambrosian Library to the Church of St. Ambrogio, the most interesting church in Milan for its antiquity. It was founded by S. Ambrose, and dedicated by him on June 19, A.D. 387.[8] The present form of this Church

[6] Inni Sinceri di Sant' Ambrogio, p. 7. [7] Ibid. pp, 12, 13.

[8] See S. Ambrose's Letter to his sister Marcellina, Epist. 22, and Biraghi, Inni Sinceri di Sant' Ambrogio, pp. 81—85.

is due to Ambrosius Anspertus, Archbishop of Milan in the ninth century; but it was probably built upon more ancient foundations. Like S. Clemente at Rome, it is approached through an atrium, or open courtyard, surrounded by a cloister on each of its four sides.

In these atria, in former times, the poor asked the alms of the faithful; here the penitents implored their prayers; here those who were under penance remained exposed to wind and rain, hence called "hiemantes," and were not permitted to enter the doors of the sanctuary.

These ante-temples were used also in ancient times as places of interment, and the walls of the atrium of S. Ambrogio are encrusted with many sepulchral marbles having ancient inscriptions. I observed one which commemorates a certain *Satyrus*, an exorcist of the Church, whose name recalls that of S. Ambrose's brother, who, as well as S. Ambrose, was a Governor of a Province; and to whom after his own elevation to the Episcopate, S. Ambrose confided the management of his temporal affairs, and who is commemorated in one of the chapels of this Church, The inscription is,—

SATVRVS EXSOR
CISTA MARITVS
SE VIVVM CONT.
VOT. POS.
DEP. DIE
XVII KAL
M. IAN
. . .
FILIA EORVM

Some of the inscripsions are in *Greek*, mixed with Latin, e. g.—

B. M. (i. e. *Benè Merenti*)
ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΙΤΕ (*i. e.* κεῖται) ΕΝ
ΕΙΡΙΝ (εἰρήνῃ) Ο ΚΑΛΟ(s)
ΚΥΜΗΤΟC ΒΑCCOC

and I observed one in *Hebrew*, with the emblem of the seven-branched candlestick.

In the nave of the Church of S. Ambrogio is a very interesting *ambon*, or large pulpit of marble, where the reader in ancient days stood to read the Gospels and Epistles to the people; here they would be well heard. Sermons here were usually preached from the steps of the altar. The ambon is very spacious, and might have served also, as such places usually did, for the Canonical Singers of the Church. It is adorned with an ancient bas-relief, representing an *agape* or love-feast, such as is mentioned in the New Testament by St. Paul and St. Jude.[9]

In ancient churches there were usually *two* ambons, that on the north for the reading of the Gospel, that on the south for the Epistle and for other lessons of Scripture. S. Carlo Borromeo gave direction that there should be two such ambons in all the Churches of his Diocese; the ambon for the Gospel was to be the higher of the two.[1]

This Church is full of records of S. Ambrose. It was founded by him. We cannot believe the story that its doors are those which he closed against the Emperor Theodosius, after the massacre of Thessalonica (A.D. 390), but they serve to remind us of the fact. There is an ancient portrait of him on a pilaster of the Church opposite the ambon. The mosaic over the altar in the choir represents the Saviour in glory, with a Greek Inscription, "Jesus Christ the King of Glory (Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης)."

ΙC XC Ο BACH-
-ΛΕV TIC
ΔWZHω

I have copied the *errors* exactly. SS. Gervasius and Protasius are at his side, and supply another reminiscence of the history of S. Ambrose. The bodies of those saints and martyrs were discovered A.D. 386, in times of trouble and persecution for the faith in our Lord's Divinity, and were interred in this Basilica; and it pleased God to work a miracle in behalf of the truth for which they suffered, to which S.

[9] 1 Cor. xi. 20—23. Jude 12.

[1] Cerimon. Ambros., p. 72.

Augustine, then at Milan, has borne witness,[2] and also S. Ambrose himself, in a hymn[3] written by him on that occasion. In the choir are ancient mosaics representing events in the life of S. Ambrose, and in the apse behind the altar is an ancient marble chair for the Archbishop of Milan, and on each side of it are stalls for the Canons, who occupy the places of the Suffragans of the province. Near them is a representation of the Baptism of S. Augustine, which took place on Easter Even, the 24th April, A.D. 387, in the Baptistery which was near the greater Basilica, within the walls of the city, to the south of the Basilica of S. Thecla. There is also a Lectern, on which is a very ancient Ambrosian Service-book in vellum, a large folio volume, richly illuminated, and with the musical notation; it is one of six volumes. There is also in this Church a chapel which bears the name of Marcellina, the sister of S. Ambrose. It is said that her body reposes by the side of that of her brother, and of those of SS. Gervasius and Protasius, beneath the altar of this Church. S. Ambrose died at the age of 57, and was buried here on Easter Day, A.D. 397.

There is also here a chapel, formerly called the Basilica of Fausta, but now known by the name of the brother of S. Ambrose, S. Satyrus, where are some very interesting ancient mosaics. S. Ambrose wrote an epitaph in elegiac verse in memory of his brother,[4] who died A.D. 379, and was buried here near the body of S. Victor; in the year 1861, when some excavations were made in this chapel, their remains were found in a marble sarcophagus, with the initials S. V. S. S. H. R., which have been explained to signify, "SANCTUS VICTOR, SANCTUS SATYRVS HIC REQUIESCUNT."

In the midst of these reminiscences of the great Bishop of Milan and Doctor of the Western Church, I sat down on one of the benches in the nave, and enjoyed the pleasure of read-

[2] S. Aug. de Civ. Dei, xxii. 8. Serm. 286. Confessions, Book ix. See also S. Ambrose, Epist. 22, and Paulin. Vit. Ambrosii, § 14.

[3] The hymn beginning "Grates tibi Jesu novas." See "Inni Sinceri," p. 18, and p. 81.

[4] The Poem begins—

"Uranio Satyro supremum frater honorem,"

Inni Sinceri, p. 137.

ing some of his Hymns, of which I had procured a copy at the Ambrosian Library. Their grave and sober dignity, the dogmatic truths which they contain, and which are there commended to the memories and hearts of the people with unadorned simplicity; and their holy thoughts, expressed in terse and nervous language,—show, that clear and vigorous writing, and sound orthodox teaching, were combined in the Hymnology of the ancient Western Church; and may serve as a corrective of modern tendencies to substitute sentimentalism for doctrine, and verbal prettiness for sober chastity of style. One of the extant poems of S. Ambrose consists of twenty-one couplets,[5] which describe the different paintings of scenes from the Old and New Testament that formerly adorned the walls of this Church; and by the help of these verses it would be easy to restore it in that respect to the appearance which it presented in the fourth century.

This venerable Church, its mosaics, its choir, its ambon, its ancient marble chair, and the stalls which have succeeded the seats of the Suffragan Bishops of the Province, suggest some reflections on the ancient condition of the Church of Milan, as compared with its present state.

In the days of S. Ambrose, who was consecrated to this see in A.D. 374, the Bishop of Milan was elected by the Clergy and People, and by the Bishops of the Province, with the consent of the Emperor, but without any reference to the Bishop of Rome. This is confessed by some of the most learned Roman Catholic writers.[6] The Bishop of Milan was a Metropolitan, and had jurisdiction over a large Province which contains nearly twenty Episcopal Sees. There were formerly ancient chairs here for eighteen Suffragans, nine on each side of the Metropolitan.[7] On the right side were the names and pictures of Bishops of Vercelli, Novara, Lodi, Tortona, Asti, Turin, Aosta, Acqui, and Genoa; on the left, those of Brescia, Bergamo, Cremona, Ventimiglia, Savona,

[5] Inni Sinceri, p. 144.

[6] e. g. Peter de Marca, Archbishop of Paris, de Concordiâ Sacerdotii et Imperii, VI. iv. p. 256, ed. Venet. 1770; and see Thomassin. Vetus et nova Eccl. Disciplin. ii. 2, c. 8.

[7] See the description of the Basilica Ambrogiana, Milan, 1837, p. 47.

Albenga, Pavia, Piacenza, and Como; all which were Suffragans of Milan; and here it seems that provincial Councils were held. In the age of S. Ambrose the Bishops of these sees were elected by the Clergy and People, and were confirmed by the Metropolitan of the Province,—that is, by the Bishop of Milan; and were then consecrated by him and two or three of his Suffragan Bishops. All this was done without any reference to Rome. Thus S. Ambrose, in his Epistles still extant, mentions that he himself ordained the Bishops of Pavia, Brescia, Como, Bergamo, and others.

Such was the form of Church Government which had been established at Milan in the fourth century; and this is a specimen of what prevailed in other Provinces of Italy, for example in the Picenian Province, which comprised the Episcopal Sees of Sinigaglia, Pesaro, Rimini, Urbino; in the Flaminian Province, which contained Ravenna, Faenza, Imola, and other Bishoprics; in the Æmilian Province, in which were the Sees of Bologna, Modena, Parma, and others; and in the Venetian, which contained Aquileia, Padua, Verona, and others; these Provinces were governed by Metropolitans, and neither they nor any of their Suffragan Bishops were in any degree dependent, for their election or confirmation or consecration, on the *Bishop of Rome*.

But *at the present time*, the Bishop of Rome will not allow the Clergy and People of any of the dioceses above mentioned, to have Bishops without his consent. If another Ambrose were to arise at Milan, or another Philastrius or Gaudentius appeared at Brescia, they could not now be consecrated according to the same rule as that which prevailed in their day. Such would be the case with those holy men, all of whom the Church of Rome herself professes to revere as saints, and whose names she has inserted in her Breviary.

I had a conversation with a young chierico in this Church; he led me into the Sacristy, and took out an unconsecrated wafer, and described the mode in which the Priest receives and administers. The minute directions in the Roman Missal to the celebrant Priest, to pour a few drops of water into

the wine in the chalice, and to break the host (which is done after the consecration) into two several parts, and to break off a particle of one of the parts, and to put it into the chalice, and then to receive the two parts, and to consume the whole of the wine with the particle in it, are more remarkable, when we consider that with all this scrupulous care with regard to the reception of the bread and wine by the celebrant, the people are deprived of that share in the blessed Sacrament, which He who instituted it designed for them.

One part of the doctrine of Rome as to the Holy Eucharist seems to contradict another. She says in one of her popular Catechisms for First Communion, published at Florence in 1861, that "by virtue of the consecration, the substance of the *bread* is changed into the substance of the *body and blood* of Christ" ("la *sostanza* del *pane* si converte nella *sostanza* del *corpo e sangue* di Cristo"), and she also says that "the Communicant who receives only the bread, receives the *blood* as well as the body of Christ;" and thus she defends her own practice in *denying* the *cup* to the communicant. And yet she *orders* the *celebrant* to receive the cup; and teaches in the same Manual that the "*celebrant* receives the *blood* under the species of *wine*" (il celebrante piglia il *sangue* sotto la specie del *vino*"); and she also says "that, by virtue of the words of consecration, the *body only* of Jesus Christ is under the species of *bread*, and the *blood only* under the species of *wine*."[8] These words are in a catechism published at Florence in 1861, by authority of the Archbishop, 13th edition, p. 32.

Surely there is confusion here, on this solemn subject.

If the *celebrant* is *commanded* to receive the *cup*, and if, under the species of wine, he receives the blood, and if "the blood only of Christ is under the species of *wine*," how can the *communicant* be sure that he himself receives the blood, since he is *not permitted* to receive the *cup*? And again, if "the substance of the *bread* is changed into the substance of the

[8] There is the same confusion, in the decrees of the Council of Trent itself on the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist. Compare Session xiii. can. 4 with Session xxi. can. 3.

body *and blood* of Christ," and therefore the communicant receives the *blood* when he receives the bread, why did our Blessed Lord institute the Holy Sacrament with wine as well as bread? and why did He say, when He blessed the *cup*, "Drink ye *all* of *this, for* this is My *blood*"?[9] It seems, therefore, that the Church of Rome in this matter is not consistent with herself, and contradicts One far greater than herself.

The consumption of the *whole of the wine* by the *celebrant alone*, and of *all the parts of the whole wafer*, isolates the celebrant from the Congregation, and even from the other Priests. The Church of Rome forbids the celebrant to share his consecrated wafer with any one else. This seems to be at variance with the intention of Him who instituted the Holy Sacrament to be a means of showing forth and strengthening the communion of His members in Himself, and their mutual love to each other in Christ by partaking of the "one bread" (1 Cor. x. 17), and "the cup" (1 Cor. x. 21; xi. 26), in the Holy Eucharist.

"You do not believe in the real presence, and you do not *reserve* the host for the sick and absent," said my young friend to me; and when I informed him that the Church of England teaches in her Catechism that "the body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper;" and that she has provided a special office for the Communion of the Sick, he said, "But suppose the Priest is not fasting, how can he administer the Communion to a sick person?" "Do we not read in the Gospels," I replied, "that our Lord instituted the holy Sacrament, and that the Apostles received it, when they were not fasting? How do you account for this, if it is absolutely necessary (however desirable) to be fasting, in order to partake of the Holy Communion?"

According to the teaching of the Church of Rome it is essential to be fasting since the previous midnight, before the reception of the Holy Communion. In the "Catechism for First Communion" (printed at Florence in 1861, p. 6), the communicant is taught that he would "be guilty of most

[9] Matt. xxvi. 27, 28.

grievous deadly sin ('peccato mortale gravissimo') if he ate anything after midnight before the communion."

My young friend turned the conversation, and said, "But you do not believe in 'Maria immacolata'?"

"We believe that Christ alone is without taint of sin, and we know that the great Father and Saint, S. Augustine, who is so much honoured at Milan, and in this Church, taught the same doctrine,[1] and that the dogma of the Immaculate Conception was never imposed upon you as an article of faith till the year 1854."

"Then you do not acknowledge the authority of the Pope, the successor of St. Peter?"

"We do not believe that he is competent to impose new articles of faith upon the Christian world. We know from the Epistle to the Galatians that on one occasion St. Peter himself 'walked not uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel' (Gal. ii. 8—15), and that St. Paul resisted him to the face; and (as S. Augustine observes in his correspondence with S. Jerome) the Epistle to the Galatians is Canonical Scripture, dictated by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and *therefore* we are sure it is *true* that St. Peter *erred;* and that those also may err who call themselves St. Peter's successors, and that they ought to be resisted (as St. Peter was resisted by St. Paul) when they 'walk not uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel,' as received by the ancient Catholic Church."

"But you have not the faith of the Catholic Church."

"Yes, we have the Creeds of the Church; we have the same Creed as the Church of Rome uses in the administration of Baptism,—the Apostles' Creed,—and we have the same Creed as the Church of Rome uses at the Holy Communion,—the Nicene, or Constantinopolitan Creed,—and we have carried our moderation toward the Church of Rome so far that we have retained the *'filioque'* in the latter, believing as we do that it is a true assertion, although it was inserted by one of the Popes[2] in an irregular way."

[1] The proofs of this may be seen in a Sermon by the Author, Occasional Sermons, Serm. XII., p. 104.

[2] Pope Nicholas I., who was Bishop of Rome A.D. 858 to 867.

"But you have altered the ancient Offices of the Church."

"Have we? Which do you mean?"

"You have altered the *Te Deum;* and I will show you where you have done it."

He went into the Sacristy, and brought out a Service-book, where he pointed to the verse in the Te Deum, "Tu ad liberandum suscepturus hominem non abhorruisti Virginis uterum."

"Pardon me, we have not made any alteration there," and I repeated the words as they stand in the English Liturgy; "we recite those words in our Churches every day."

Many of our American Brethren regret that this verse has been altered in their liturgy; and we may hence take occasion to observe that alterations of ancient formularies, which have been received in the Church for many generations, are very dangerous, and furnish occasion of reproach to our brethren of the Church of Rome, who are always on the alert to take advantage of them, and to denounce those who alter ancient offices as innovators and schismatics.

This may also serve as a warning to some among us who would tamper with our English Book of Common Prayer, and perhaps rob us of some of those formularies by means of which we communicate with ancient Christendom. If (as some of our friends propose) we were to part with the *Athanasian Creed* (which many in the American Church would be glad to *recover*), we should expose ourselves to censure from our enemies, and give a triumph to Popery;

"Hoc Ithacus velit, et magno mercentur Atridæ."

My young friend seemed a little disconcerted, but I comforted him with the assurance that there were very many things in which we were entirely of one mind; and in this Church of S. Ambrose I could solemnly make the following assurance: "We receive the same Scriptures as S. Ambrose did; we profess the same faith, in the same Creeds, as S. Ambrose and S. Augustine did, and as all the Fathers and Saints of the ancient Western Church did; and if we are

not agreed in some points with the *present* Church of Rome, it is because she has departed in these respects from that ancient Faith, which S. Ambrose and S. Augustine held and taught; and because we know from the voice of God Himself in Holy Scripture that 'if any man, or even an angel from heaven preach to us anything *beside*[3] what was preached' by the Apostles, and was received by the Apostolic Churches, 'he is to be anathema.'"

May 24th.—I called with an Italian friend on a distinguished person, formerly a member of the Italian Chamber of Deputies, and now a Senator of Italy, and a Judge, who has written many valuable works on the present condition of Italy, especially with regard to the See of Rome. Like almost all the letterati of Italy at the present day, he is very eager for the abolition of the Pope's temporal power. He is well versed in the history of the Papacy, and—what is more remarkable in an Italian layman—well acquainted with the Holy Scriptures, which he quoted in the words of the Vulgate with readiness and precision. "Is the Bishop of Rome necessary to the Church?" he said. "If so, what becomes of the Church when the Papal See is void? Does she cease to exist? Where then is Christ's promise to her of His continual presence? He did not found any supremacy in her. Let then the orders of the Church be reduced to their primitive simplicity, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. As for the temporal power of Rome, 'the gift of Constantine' (as it is called) and of Charlemagne, that has been the bane of Christendom. Wonderful retribution!" he exclaimed, "Rome deprived Kings—your King John, for instance—of their dominions, on the plea of religion; and now God is raising up Kings to deprive her of her temporal power, and to 'render to her double for her sins.' He is bringing upon her the consequences of the principles and practices of her Hildebrands, her Innocent the Thirds, and her Boniface the Eighths. But remember, I do not confound the '*Chiesa* di Roma' with the '*Curia* di Roma.' I abhor the court of Rome, but I love much that is in the Church of Rome: I revere the Pope as a Bishop, but owe him no allegiance as a

[3] παρὰ, Galatians i. 8, 9.

Prince. We must go back to the condition of the Church as displayed to us in Holy Scripture. Do not suppose, however," said he, "that I would leave the Bible to be interpreted and tampered with by every man as he likes. No. I reject the 'senso privato,' and I accept the 'Chiesa vera primitiva' as the Interpreter of Scripture. But what," added he, "is the *Chiesa?* *Not* the Pope, not the Bishops and Priests alone, but the whole body of the faithful associated with them. But the misfortune is," he said, "that the Laity do not concern themselves much with these things. The Government allows the People to imagine, that the Pope and his Bishops are the only persons who care a whit for Religion and the Church; and thus they give a great advantage to the Papacy. When I was in Parliament, I conjured Cavour to encourage pious, learned, and loyal Priests; but he let matters take their own course, and allowed Religion and the Church to shift for themselves. I told Cavour that his celebrated maxim, 'Libera Chiesa in libero Stato,' which many admired as a fine saying, is an absurdity, a 'sproposito,' and would one day be found to be so. Take, for example, the claim of the Church of Rome to summon all Bishops to Rome. Is she to be *free* to do this at whatever time, and for whatever cause, she pleases to do it? If so, then the Bishops of Italy are not subjects of the King of Italy, but are vassals of the Pope—they are slaves of a foreign Potentate, hostile to the King. And thus the King of Italy himself is a subject of the Pope of Rome, and the Pope will crush him if he can. But do not persecute the Church, I said to Cavour, do not persecute any one; encourage her to do her duty, and let her be free to do her duty, and help her to do all the good in her power."

"Yes," added the Italian lay friend who had accompanied me; "and it is much to be regretted that the municipality of Milan did not engage the services of the loyal and religious Parish Priests in the primary Schools of the city, but placed those schools under the control of masters, who will teach them socialism, and lead them on to democracy."

"There is a great deal now said and written in Italy in behalf of 'Italia unita,' but what is still more necessary,"

said I, "is 'Chiesa unita.'" "Yes," replied the Senator, "that is true; and you may depend upon it, that if we could get rid of the Pope's temporal power, we should have gained a great step to the union of the Church."

I was struck by the fervid eloquence with which he spoke, and could not but think that if Italy had many laymen like him in piety, learning, and vigour, she would, with the divine blessing, be enabled to recover her place among the nations of the earth,

My companion walked with me to the Cathedral, and as we stood before the façade of that magnificent building, he paused and said, "I have been in almost all parts of Italy, and I believe that the people of Lombardy are, on the whole, the most religious of all its inhabitants. If you wish to see the religion of Milan in its genuine character, get up early in the morning, and go to the churches then, or go to them in the evening, at about half-past seven o'clock at this season, and you will find them filled with the working classes. As for the upper ranks, it is true that they are for the most part indifferent to religion. When the Austrians were in power here, many of the upper class professed to be religious, because it suited their interests; it was necessary to go to mass, &c., in order to obtain any civil employment under Government, but this was an hypocritical pretence, and now they have thrown off the mask."

I went accordingly at half-past seven p.m. to the Church of S. Fedele. There was a large Congregation of common people: very few young men. The service was the "Rosarium B.V.M." The responses full and general, as usual in this office.

May 25th, Sunday.—Festival of Saint Gregory VII. (Hildebrand), in the Roman Breviary, where he is eulogized (as was before noticed, p. 125) because he dethroned the Emperor of Germany, Henry IV., and absolved his subjects from their allegiance.

My friend, the Senator, called at an early hour of the morning, and renewed his conversation on the temporal and spiritual power of the Papacy. "We have had great men," said he, "in Italy, who have written well on the measures

to be adopted by us for restraining the spiritual and temporal usurpations of the Papacy. There was Antonio Rosmini, who published some excellent works on this subject. But he was timid, and made an humble submission to the Pope. There was Vincenzo Gioberti also, who has left some very valuable suggestions in his *opere postume*, which you ought to read: they contain a plan of a reformation for Italy. And there are some excellent remarks in the brochure of Mamiani (Rinnascenza Cattolica). By the way, he has made some observations on the applicability of the prophecies of Scripture to the present time. But, as I said before, some of the present rulers of Italy do not seem sufficiently to remember the declarations of Almighty God in Scripture,—'By Me kings reign,' &c., 'Righteousness exalteth a Nation,'—'Per me reges regnant, et legum conditores justa decernunt.' 'Per Me potentes imperant, et potentes decernunt justitiam.'[4] 'Justitia elevat gentem, miseros autem facit populos peccatum.'"[5] They do not seem to remember, that they cannot counteract Popery except by Christianity.

My friend had been well acquainted with Cardinal Mezzofanti, whom I had seen at Bologna and Rome in 1831, 1832: he bore testimony to the great modesty as well as to the wonderful gifts of that extraordinary man, who spoke thirty-two languages,—that is, ten more than were spoken by Mithridates. "I have, by the favour of God, a talent for languages," Mezzofanti used to say, but "non sono dotto, non conosco che parole." My friend said that he had conversed with Mezzofanti in two patois of Sardinia, and found him versed in both. I mentioned the saying of the late Francis Hare concerning Mezzofanti, that he had a larger bunch of keys in his hand than any man that ever lived, but that he never unlocked anything with them: his vast knowledge of language was never applied to any scientific or literary purpose. Lord Byron said he was a walking Polygot, and if he had lived at the time of Babel, he might have served as interpreter; certainly it would have been a noble and a holy use of his marvellous

[4] Prov. viii. 15. He quoted from the Vulgate.
[5] Prov. xiv. 34.

gift, if it could have been employed in bringing the discordant tribes of earth, or even of Europe, to a common consent in the great truths of the Gospel. Some have attempted to explain away the miracle which the Church celebrates at Pentecost, the gift of tongues. The extraordinary talents which Almighty God still bestows now and then on individuals,—such as Mezzofanti in Italy (and may we not add the name of one of our own Bishops in the Pacific, Bishop Patteson?) may serve to remind us of His divine power in this respect, and to convince the incredulous, that if a worthy purpose was to be gained thereby, such as the manifestation of the power and love of the Holy Ghost in publishing the one Gospel to all Nations in their own tongues by the Apostles of Christ, and in counteracting the evils of Babel by the blessings of Sion, surely the bestowal of the Gift of Tongues on the disciples at Pentecost was in perfect accordance with the divine attributes.

May 25th.—Went to the English chapel in Vicolo di S. Giovanni alla *conca,* one of the oldest Churches of Milan; its existence may be traced in Manuscripts of the eighth century: it is called "alla *conca,*"[6] from the cauldron of boiling oil into which St. John the Evangelist is said to have been put by the order of the Emperor Domitian—to which S. Ambrose refers in his hymn for St. John's Day;—St. John is represented on the façade of the Church as standing in a *conca.* The English Chapel is part of an old disused Church given to the English congregation by Victor Emmanuel at the request of the English ambassador, Sir James Hudson.

There is little evidence of any religious rest on the Lord's Day in the streets of Milan. Is not this secularization of the Christian Sunday due to the erroneous teaching of the Church of Rome, which has altogether lost sight of the scriptural authority for the santification of the Lord's Day? In a popular Catechism, now in the thirteenth edition, for the use of the "Scuole Pie," printed at Florence in 1861, and authorized by the Archbishop, the Fourth Commandment is explained to oblige the Christian to observe the

[6] Inni Sinceri, p. 101, where is an engraving of the bas-relief on the façade of this Church.

"festivals of the Church," pp. 15, 17, but not a word is said, concerning the Lord's Day.

The same Catechism omits the Second Commandment altogether, nor does it give any exposition of it in explaining the first Commandment. In both these respects, this popular Catechism is worse than the Trent Catechism; and is one evidence among many that the popular theology and popular practice of Rome are lower than the teaching of her Schools.

At half-past two p.m., went to the Cathedral. The north and south aisles of its interior were parted off from the nave with purple stuff curtains; in the aisles, behind the curtains, were classes for boys and men on the south side, and for girls and women on the north. The boys were learning to read and write, till a quarter to three; they were standing or sitting in groups, with small ink-bottles and copy-books,—very little order or method, and not a little noise. At a quarter to three the bell rang, and they all knelt down for prayer, and the Clergy commenced instruction in the Catechism, with boys and girls respectively in the south and north aisles of the Cathedral; this was a more orderly proceeding. I attended the classes of men, which were at the east end of the south aisle: very interesting; at the entrance was suspended a board with the words "Pax Vobis," and "Humilitas," S. Carlo's motto. These Catechetical Schools were instituted by him; and similar Schools were established by him in other parts of the Diocese. He had a considerable share in framing the celebrated Trent Catechism, which was composed by four theologians selected and encouraged by him, and was completed in December, 1564—as he states in a letter to Cardinal Hosius—and was printed at Rome in the Pontificate of Pius V., in 1566. S. Carlo had learned the importance of catechizing from the Reformers, especially from Luther and Melanchthon; and the good which has been done by catechizing in the Church of Rome at Milan and Lombardy, generally, is in no small degree a fruit of the Reformation.

Our Romanist brethren seem to be little aware how much they owe to the Reformers, whom they vehemently denounce and abhor. Ought they not to thank them for their Trent

Catechism, and for vernacular Bibles—and vernacular prayers —wherever they have any: and even for much that is good in the disciplinarian reforms of the Council of Trent?

In a space of about eighty feet square were four classes of men, each arranged in a quadrangle with four benches, a Priest for each: and the men were sitting, some by his side, and others facing him. others on the benches to his right hand and to his left. In one of these classes were as many as 300 men. The Priest was addressing them in a clear voice, and with lively action,—no questions. One of these four Priests was discoursing to his class on the sin of exposing oneself to temptation. The second was going through the Creed, and giving a short explanation of each article: the third was speaking on the forgiveness of injuries; the fourth, on the omnipresence of God. All that I heard was excellent; and this kind of familiar, plain, personal, and practical addresses to groups of persons in small numbers—all of whom could hear and see—seems to be better adapted to instruct the people than what we call "*sermons for the masses.*" Most of the men were of the middle class, and were grave, serious, sedate, and attentive. This was one of the most edifying sights of the kind that I have ever had the good fortune to see in a continental Church.

It is to be regretted that the impression produced by this interesting sight should be at all impaired by associations of a different character. How much more appropriate a monument of a Christian Bishop is this Catechetical School than the subterranean Tomb where the body of Charles Borromeo is preserved, in a shrine of gold and silver! It is dressed up in pontifical robes, enriched with sparkling diamonds, and with the head reposing on a gilded cushion! Melancholy spectacle! in which the brilliant splendour of earthly pomp contrasts ill with the solemn realities of mortality, and with the motto of this saintly Bishop, "Humilitas."

S. Carlo Borromeo was nephew of Pope Pius IV.; he died Nov. 4, 1584, aged forty-six years, and was canonized by Paul V. in 1610; but his canonization cost his family and friends so large a sum of money that they were deterred from attempting to obtain a similar honour for his scarcely

less celebrated cousin, Cardinal Friderigo Borromeo, who has been commended to the affectionate reverence of posterity by the pen of Manzoni in his *I promessi Sposi*—a tribute surely far more congenial to the mind of a holy person than a Roman Canonization.

I observed some other objects in the Cathedral which disturb the religious solemnity of this noble Minster, and detract from the spiritual edification of its services. What must a reasonable and reflecting worshipper think of the honesty and veracity of those who tell him, by an inscription engraved in large letters at the east end of this Cathedral, that this "augustissima Basilica" contains the following relics?—

"A part of our Lord's cradle, and swaddling clothes.

"*Item.* A part of the towel with which He wiped His Disciples' feet.

"*Item.* A part of the pillar at which He was bound and scourged; four thorns of His Crown; part of the reed with which He was struck; part of the wood of the Cross; one of the nails; part of the Soldier's spear; part of the sponge.

"*Item.* Two teeth of Elisha.

"*Item.* A bit of Moses' rod, &c.

"*Item.*——" But I refrain.

Let us hope that the time is not far distant, when the Church of Milan may clear herself from such things, and may dispense the wholesome food of the Gospel to the people in this magnificent Minster; and that the Catechetical School of S. Carlo Borromeo at Milan may vie in Christian rivalry with that of St. Mark at Alexandria.

MILAN TO PAVIA AND GENOA.

Monday, May 26.—Left Milan for Pavia and Genoa. The Churches of Pavia are very interesting, especially the Cathedral, and the Church of S. Michael. There is a sombre, severe, and stern aspect in these Churches, which, with their

fabrics still unfinished, seems to connect the spectator of the present day with centuries long gone by.

The Cathedral contains a beautiful specimen of fourteenth century work, commenced in A.D. 1362, as Cicognara assures us,[7] the altar-tomb of S. Augustine under a canopy, adorned with more than 200 figures: some of the guide-books speak of this tomb as containing the remains of the great African Bishop; but it is, I believe, only a cenotaph. However, it is interesting as an evidence of the veneration in which the memory of S. Augustine was held in the middle ages: and it is well that the great African Father should be thus honoured in Lombardy, where he spent some of the most eventful years of his life; and that now, when Hippo is in ruins, and there are scarcely any remains of the African Churches, their greatest Bishop and Doctor should be venerated in a Cathedral of Italy, which owes to him so much of its theological learning.

Besides, although the remains of S. Augustine may not be in this monument, yet there is reason to believe that they are now at Pavia. S. Augustine died at Hippo, in Africa, August 28, A.D. 430, aged seventy-six years, when that city was besieged by the Vandals.

His body was buried at St. Stephen's Church at Hippo; and it was carried thence to Sardinia when Africa was overrun by Vandals and Visigoths, and the orthodox Bishops were banished by them. Some place that translation in A.D. 484; others assign a later date to it.

In A.D. 710, Luitprand, King of Lombardy, recovered the remains of the great African Bishop from the hands of the Saracens, who were then masters of Sardinia, and brought them to Pavia.

In A.D. 796, Charlemagne commissioned Oldrad, Archbishop of Milan, to examine the records of these translations of the remains; and the statements here made are grounded on the Archbishop's report.

In the year 1695, Oct. 1, some repairs were made in the crypt of the Church of St. Peter "in cœlo aureo" at Pavia, where the remains were believed to be; and a silver chest

[7] Storia di Scultura, iii. 292.

was found there with an inscription, it is said, in Gothic characters, of the word AGOSTINO.

An account is given of this discovery by Father Montfaucon, in his Diarium Italicum, who visited Pavia at that time (p. 26). Mabillon says (Diar. Ital. p. 221), that, when he was here, it was generally believed that the body was beneath the altar of St. Peter's Church.

Tillemont, in his Ecclesiastical Memoirs, seems to incline to the opinion that its place cannot be clearly determined. Vasari[8] appears to be disposed to believe the story that the beautiful marble monument which once stood at the high altar at St. Peter's, Pavia, actually contained the body of S. Augustine.

Went from Pavia to the Carthusian Monastery, the Certosa —one of the most splendid in the world—which is due to the remorse of John Galeazzo Visconti, the first Duke of Milan, for the murder of his uncle and father-in-law and family, whom he poisoned. How many of the noblest buildings owe their origin to heinous sins!

Galeazzo died in 1402, and was buried in the Cathedral of Milan; but his body was afterwards removed; and in 1562, when this monument was finished,—it had been begun in 1490,—his body could not be found.

We drove under a frescoed gateway, and crossed a courtyard, and entered the nave. Vespers were going on; the effect of hearing beautiful music, in a large magnificent building, without seeing any living creature, is very solemn and impressive. It seems as if the sounds come from the spiritual world. After the vespers saw the Superior—he alone is allowed to converse: other members of the order, in their light-coloured dress of serge, were moving silently about the Church, like shadowy figures on a wall. The Carthusian rule is very strict. They never touch animal food: "neppure ammalati." I went into the two cloistral quadrangles; the lesser contains a beautiful garden rich in flowers; and the walks are adorned with graceful bas-reliefs in terra-cotta, representing Scriptural subjects. The larger cloister enclosed a field of corn: the views of the noble Monastery

[8] Vita di Girolamo, iii. p. 30.

from these courts are very picturesque. Each of the Monks has a separate abode, which opens into the garden: and there is a little window-like hatch by which his food is introduced. No woman is allowed to enter the cloister. I gathered a sprig of heartsease from the garden, to console the ladies of our party for their exclusion. The Monks, with all their restrictions, cannot exclude nature, and natural affection. These flowers themselves are witnesses to the truth that

"Naturam expellas furcâ, tamen usque recurret."

And are they to have heartsease and polyanthuses in their garden, and to know nothing of the beautiful colours and fragrant perfumes of the sweet flowers of Christian graces in holy women?

The recluses have no communication with one another, and never see one another except at the hours of Divine Service, and at rare intervals. It seems as if the rule of S. Bruno had been dictated by his emotions on seeing his friend and companion, Raymond, suddenly snatched away at a social meeting, and then laid out in a coffin on a bier by torchlight, as dead, in a chapel hung with black, and then suddenly rising out of the coffin, and exclaiming, "Justo judicio Dei appellatus sum, justo judicio Dei judicatus sum," and then falling back dead. From that day S. Bruno renounced the world, and dedicated himself to the monastic life.

According to the original rule of S. Bruno (who died A.D. 1101) every cell was to be furnished with a stock of parchment, pens, ink, and colours, and every Monk was obliged to spend a certain time in transcribing or illuminating MSS. How much of our present knowledge is due to the patient industry of these Carthusian brethren! The invention of printing has deprived them of a great part of their occupation, but it has profited much by their labours. There is a large library in the monastery.

We passed through Alessandria, where we halted for some time, and arrived at Genoa at ten p.m.

GENOA.

Genoa is one of the most interesting cities in Italy for old conventual buildings. You pass out of a busy street by one of those long narrow and rather steep thoroughfares, brilliant with gold, jewelry, silver filagree-work, and coral ornaments, and traversed by long trains of mules tied to one another's tails, and muzzled with corded nose-bags,—you enter a by-lane, and come into an old cloistered quadrangle, shaded with orange-trees, with an old monastic well in the centre, and you see walls engraved with venerable ancient inscriptions, or adorned with mediæval sculpture. Such are the cloistered retreats of S. Andrea and of the Church of S. Matteo, founded in the twelfth century, with its interesting records of the Dorias. On the façade of the Church is an inscription which records a victory gained by the Genoese fleet under Lamba Doria over the Venetians under Dandolo, on Sept. 7, A.D. 1298, at Scarzola. The cloisters contain the remains of two colossal statues of Dorias—one, the celebrated Giannetto, who commanded in the great naval victory of Lepanto in 1571. Strange to say, these memorials of Genoese glory, which once stood in front of the ducal palace, were thrown down and mutilated by a revolutionary mob, intoxicated with Gallican phrenzy, in 1797.

Another relic of mediæval history survives in the Dominican Convent, still tenanted by a few friars,—some learned and intelligent,—the last of their race: half of the convent is now used as a barrack. The old ruined Church of S. Agostino is also very interesting: I observed the date of A.D. 1293 on its façade. Not far from it you may light upon some remains of an old Roman wall and aqueduct, and on a fragment of an old column of cipollino in a courtyard of an old monastery.

There is a peculiar charm in Italian towns,—a charm perhaps derived from the influence of Grecian art, and especially from that of Athens. How noble and dignifying a sight did the agora, or market-place of Athens, present, with its grand and graceful works of Painting and Sculpture, raising the mind from secular business to higher aspirations! What

a pity it is, that our own old Market-crosses have disappeared. Amid the bustle and din of trade in Italian cities, the eye is refreshed, ever and anon, with some beautiful works of art, which lift the thoughts above the level of mere worldly traffic, and open out to the eye, as it were through a spiritual loophole, glimpses of the unseen world. In the most crowded thoroughfare of Genoa,—the Strada degli Orefici,—are two beautiful gleams of this kind; one is the lovely picture of the Holy Family, by Pellegrino Piola, over one of the shops; this picture belongs to the guild of the goldsmiths, and is much prized by them. Nearly opposite is a very graceful basso-rilievo of the Nativity. Such works as these, preserved in their original freshness for centuries (the picture is carefully covered with glass), and representing subjects of everlasting interest, and of calm repose and unruffled quietness, exercise a spiritualizing and elevating influence on the ephemeral eagerness and hurry of the passers-by, and doubtless serve to remind some among them of the vanity of secular and earthly things, and of the peace and permanence of a better world.

What would the ancient Greek artists have given for the privilege of representing such glorious scenes as have been revealed to the imagination of Christian Art! Even now it is refreshing in the leisure hours of roving Fancy to *imagine* a Presepe sculptured by the hand of Phidias or Praxiteles for the market-place of Athens Christianized.

The out-door life of Italy is one of its chief charms, especially at this season of the year; it suggests a reminiscence of poetical descriptions of hours spent by her classical Poets in ancient days at the side of streams and fountains, beneath the shade of fair trees, with fragrant flowering shrubs clustering around them, and with statues, single or in groups, disposed at intervals amid the trees. There is a quiet place at Genoa, to which we resorted frequently for rest and refreshment, and to which we owe a tribute of gratitude, "the Concordia," as it is called: and it is pleasant to remember its sparkling fountain and its large oleanders with their profusion of red flowers, and the orange-trees in fruit, and the *nespoli*, and laurustinus, and pomegranates, and the willows

hanging over the clear basin, and the marble tables near which we passed some happy hours during our sojourn in this noble city.

Wednesday evening, May 28.—Went to the Church alle Vigne—a large congregation assembled to hear a sermon. The Preacher was standing on a platform, on which a high crucifix was fixed at his left hand: behind him was an arm-chair: he had a fine sonorous voice, and used much action. He began with a violent invective against the rationalizing Philosophy of the day, and deplored the ravages it was making among the people, who imagined all the while that they were gaining some new illumination from it: "Povero popolo!" he exclaimed; for all the while "they are becoming the dupes and victims of the Evil Spirit of delusion."

This was the procemium to a Sermon on Purgatory. He stated the objections made to the doctrine of Purgatory by some, especially the Protestants (of whom he said some very hard things); for instance, that the doctrine had been fabricated by the Clergy, "per motivo di lucro sacerdotale," and that it was not to be found in Scripture: he referred to the usual text, 2 Maccabees xii. 44. "But even if the doctrine is not true" (he said) "it can do no harm; but, on the contrary, is an exercise of Christian love for the departed." And then he exemplified the consolatory effects of the doctrine upon bereaved and mourning widows, and upon others who found quiet comfort in showing their love for their deceased friends, by praying, and procuring masses, &c., for the deliverance of their souls out of Purgatory; all which comfort, he said, would be taken from them if they were robbed of their belief in Purgatory.

True it is, that the Church of Rome has shown consummate skill in accommodating herself to the best feelings of human nature; and almost all her errors and corruptions in doctrine and practice derive their power from the affections of men, and still more of women, when in sorrow and distress, either for sin committed, or for suffering endured:

> "The way is smooth,
> For power that travels with the human *heart*."

But surely the very consciousness of this truth ought also to suggest the Poet's lesson of self-control,—

> "Ye holy men, so earnest in your care,
> Of your own mighty instruments beware!"

How can it be said that the doctrine of Purgatory can "do no harm," if it tempts men to try "to be wise above what is written,"[9] and to "teach for doctrines the commandments of men:"[1] and if the sacrifice of the Mass for the dead, and eleemosynary indulgences doled forth for money by the Church, expose the Church to suspicion of covetousness and fraudulent traffic in spiritual things for filthy lucre; and if it makes an invidious distinction between rich and poor,[2] and if it tempts men to put off their repentance, while they are alive, and while the day of repentance lasts, and before the hour of death comes, "when no man can work:" and if it be at all true that a belief in Purgatory will, it is to be feared, be the cause of many men's exclusion from Paradise and from Heaven?

On coming out of the Church, I observed on the Church-door an "avviso dell' opera di santa infanzia," a charitable association of persons for taking care of outcast unbaptized children: and a meeting was to be held of the Association to consider the names ("da imporsi a bambini infedeli") to be given to such children. An excellent institution, especially for large towns,

Another "avviso" of very a different character was affixed to a neighbouring wall, i. e. an announcement of a new work, being "A Biography of Pope Sixtus V.," and an Essay, "Sull' ipocrisia della Curia Romana." Such Advertisements as these are now very common in Italy. In the Churches you may hear sermons in favour of the Pope's temporal power, while the neighbouring walls are eloquent in their denunciations of it and of everything that belongs to the Court of Rome.

[9] 1 Cor. iv. 6.

[1] Matt. xv. 9. Mark vii. 7.

[2] These abuses of the doctrine of Purgatory and Indulgences are freely pointed out by a learned Roman Catholic Writer, Dr. G. B. Hirscher, in his work on the present State of the Church.

May 29, *Genoa, Ascension Day.*—Almost all the shops shut. Churches full at an early hour of the morning; many sailors present. Service at the English Church, Casa Rocca, Via Asarotti; an excellent Sermon by the English Chaplain, the Rev. Alfred B. Strettell.

Went to some beautiful gardens in the Acqua Sola; broad walks, overshadowed with the thick foliage of old ilexes; a large basin of water with swans floating on it; carnations on the terrace, which commanded an extensive view of the city and adjacent country; and a little Paestum of roses beneath the terrace; a charming spot for such a summer day as this.

Went in the afternoon to a beautiful country Parish in the Apennines; it is situated in a glen above a mountain stream, overshadowed with chestnut-trees; delightful fresh air. Visited the small parsonage of the Parroco, close to the Church, with a lofty belfry seen from afar; and near it a little School, built of wood and straw. The Parroco dined with us, a well-informed, intelligent man, of grave and serious aspect. He expressed great regard for the Church of England, and a desire for union with us. "And," said he, "when the temporal power of the Papacy is abolished, then the great hindrance to that union will be removed." He drew a lively picture of the future happiness of Christendom, when that consummation is attained; it would be, he thought, like a beginning of a golden age of peace and felicity. He was acquainted with Mamiani, the Author of *Rinascenza Cattolica*, and had imbibed similar opinions. He was interested in hearing of an effort made by the Lower House of Convocation in the Province of Canterbury,[3] to open communication with the Clergy of Italy, who are craving for sympathy from England.

To-day being Ascension Day, I had an opportunity of observing to this learned ecclesiastic, that the Offices in our Book of Common Prayer correspond in many respects to those in his Breviary. "We have the same Collect, Epistle, and Gospel as you have for this festival—Ascension Day."

[3] The effort referred to was in the form of an Address from certain Members of the Lower House to the Upper, Feb. 28, 1861.

"Yes," said he, "I also have made the 'confronto,'" and he began to quote from the Breviary the beginning of the Epistle for the Day from the Acts of the Apostles, "Primum quidem sermonem feci de omnibus, O Theophile," &c. &c., and it was a great pleasure to him, he said, "to observe the correspondence."

The English Prayer Book translated into Italian is very acceptable to many in Italy, and is doing great good. The "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge" has rendered great service by its editions of the Book of Common Prayer in Italian, and by its liberal grants for the supply of copies of them in Italy; which are administered, I believe, through the Bishop of Gibraltar. There is now another work that still remains to be done,[4] which would be of infinite service, especially in its influence on learned, intelligent, and Catholic-minded members of the Italian Episcopate and Priesthood; I mean the translation of the English Prayer Book into Latin. The Collects ought to be presented as nearly as may be in their ancient Latin dress, wherever they have been adopted from the old Latin Service-books; and the Epistles and Gospels, and other portions of Scripture, ought to be given in the primitive Latin Vulgate, wherever that version is not at variance with the original. If this were done, the Italian Clergy would see at one glance how much we have in common with themselves, and they would rejoice to know that the Church of England has a Liturgy which contains so much material with which they are familiar by daily use. The "*Breviary*" is their Manual,—their daily companion,—and the correspondence of the English Prayer Book with the Latin Breviary in the structure and arrangement of the services seems to be a providential dispensation for the future union of many good men in Western Christendom.

If our Reformers had adopted the *Eastern* Calendar[5] and Liturgy, or if they had framed an entirely new one, there

[4] Happily this has now been done, and done very well.

[5] As may be seen in Daniel's Codex Liturgicus, tom. iv. pp. 212—278, ed. Lips. 1853. For example, the Greek Church has no season of Advent ("Annus Græcorum Ecclesiasticus non orditur ab tempore *Adventûs, quod prorsus ignorant*—"); and its cycle of Saints' Days and other Festivals is different in many respects from that of the Western Church.

would not have been these points of contact, which now exist between us and other Western Churches; and which seem to suggest an earnest endeavour to enter into free and friendly communication with such learned and charitable members of the Italian Priesthood as this excellent Pastor, with whom it was my privilege to have some delightful fraternal intercourse, in this beautiful country Parish on an Ascension Day among the Apennines.

FLORENCE.

Monday, June 2nd.—A Florentine Ecclesiastic informed me to-day that there are six Bishoprics now vacant in Tuscany, and a great many Parishes left without Incumbents: the reason is, as was before intimated, that the Pope will not give the required "bulls of institution" to the King's nominees to Episcopal Sees;[6] and the Bishops, who are the Pope's subjects, bound to him by oaths of vassalage, will not give institution to the King's nominees to the benefices in the royal patronage.

This conflict between the King and the Pope is hurtful to religion and morality. I asked him why the Government did not dispense with the Papal bulls of institution. "Hanno paura," was the reply. I asked whether the Government did not remember the inscription on the Palazzo Vecchio of the city, "Rex regum et Dominus dominantium." The Government need not fear the Pope, if it can prove to the People, as might easily be done, that the Pope, in claiming a right to deprive the cities of Italy of Chief Pastors, is setting himself in opposition, not only to the King of Italy, but to the "Rex regum et Dominus dominantium," that he is robbing Christ's flock of the spiritual food and guidance which He willed that they should have. Let the Rulers of Italy show to the people of Italy that the Pope has not

[6] Since that time the Italian Government has conceded (May, 1871) to the Pope the absolute appointment to all Bishoprics in Italy and Sicily. The effects of this fatal error are now visible (1878).

religion on his side, but is resisting the will of God, and is pursuing an irreligious policy; then they will be able to withstand the Papacy: but they will not be able to resist it by secular arguments alone, and by political considerations; and even if they were, they would have no solid foundation for their own authority, because, by abandoning the principles of true religion, they would have created a spirit of irreligion among the people, and would have given impulse to a revolutionary movement, which will not spare the civil institutions of the country, but will eventually be destructive of the Monarchy.

I do not desire to mingle the solemn considerations, derivable from the prophecies of Holy Scripture, with these desultory reflections, but I cannot forbear observing that the Book of Revelation contains a remarkable prediction that the "Kings of the Earth,"—the secular Powers of this world,—will inflict severe chastisement on Rome, the mystical Babylon; and after they have done the deed, they "will weep over her, and bewail her."[7] The reason of this will be, because *any* religion, however corrupt it may be, is better than *no religion at all*, and because by weakening the power of Rome, without providing, at the same time, any sound religious foundation for their thrones, they will have exposed their People to the ravages of Irreligion, and Unbelief, which must be productive of a restless, factious, and anarchical spirit of Socialism and Communism, which will have no more reverence for Sovereigns than it has for Popes, and will involve their Kingdoms in confusion and ruin.

The once potent influence of Romanism as a system of religious belief acting upon practice, is becoming weaker and weaker in Italy, and this decay of its influence renders it a duty more urgent and imperative to raise up another and sounder spirit of Religion, as a substitute in its place. The fabric of Italian Society is like a venerable building, whose foundations have been loosened; and if the building is not shored up, it must fall. If measures are not adopted for strengthening the social structure, the result is inevitable.

[7] Rev. xviii. 9. The present state (1878) of Germany, Italy, and France is a practical illustration of what is said in these paragraphs.

It is not Victor Emmanuel who will triumph, nor is it the Papacy which will gain the day, but an Infidel and ruthless Democracy will reign victorious, and will ravage Italy with its fierce passions, and will reduce this beautiful land to a desolate wilderness.

June 3.—Called this morning on a celebrated Italian Advocate. Like many other intelligent men of his class, he appeared to think that the destruction of the Pope's temporal power would be the panacea for the evils of Italy; and that it is necessary to strain every nerve to obtain that result; and that other reforms, political and religious, would then follow as a matter of course. "Let us once get Rome, and then all the questions which were debated at your English Reformation in the sixteenth Century will come upon us—yes, rush in upon us in a torrent, before we are prepared for them." "Why then do you not prepare for them now?" "La politica assorbisce tutto," was the reply: that is the answer now generally given to all such questions. Politics absorb everything; and all politics seem to be merged in this one consideration, How are we to get Rome? How are we to dethrone the Pope, and crown Victor Emmanuel King of Italy, in the Roman Capitol?

In the evening I called upon one of the most learned Ecclesiastics of Florence; he spoke with fervid eloquence on the present crisis. "Nothing," he said, "can be more painful and disastrous than the struggle between the spiritual and temporal power. 'Non finirà senza sangue.' It will not end without bloodshed."

He deplored in strong terms the present degraded condition of the Clergy; they are, he said, for the most part, "senza istruzione," illiterate and ignorant: and he deplored that many of them are "scostumatissimi."

"Our Episcopate is debased—our Bishops are slaves of the Pope, and despots of the Clergy, and of the People. What a glorious opportunity was that which our own Archbishop had in the present week of asserting the true character of the Christian Episcopate! The Pope commanded him not to pray for the King and the Nation in the Cathedral: the Pope commanded him to prevent the Clergy and the

People of Florence from praying for the King and the Nation. Ought not the Archbishops to have remonstrated with the Pope? Ought he not to have withstood the Pope, as St. Paul withstood St. Peter to the face when he was to be blamed;[8] and ought he not to have reminded him that Almighty God commands us to pray for Kings and all in authority;[9] and that in forbidding us to pray for our King and our Country, the Pope is resisting God?"

He spoke of certain recent publications, which had called attention to the usurpations of the Curia Romana; for instance, the book entitled, "Rome des Papes," by Count Luigi Pianciani, who (he said) had the best opportunities of observing the working of the tribunals, &c., at Rome. There are also the publications of Filippo Perfetti (formerly Secretary of Cardinal Marini and Librarian of the University), entitled, "*The Clergy and Society;* or, *on the Reformation of the Church*" ("Il Clero e la Società," &c.), "*Remembrances of Rome*" ("Ricordi di Roma"), and "*On the new conditions of the Papacy*" ("Delle nuove condizioni del Papato"); also, the remarkable work of Abate Rosmini, "*The five wounds of the Holy Church*" ("Le cinque piaghe della Santa Chiesa"), and "*Urgent Questions,*" by Massimo D'Azeglio.

"However," said he, "do not imagine that I wish to say anything against the *Church* of Rome; it is against the *Court* of Rome, and its *secular* authorities that I am speaking; her pride and lust of power—*there* is the cause of our misery; and I am saying nothing new. Ever since the eighth century there has been a succession of illustrious men who have protested against its usurpations. It is the union of the temporal and spiritual power, and the carnal abuse of the spiritual power by the Papacy for its own ambition and aggrandizement, that has done the mischief. It is Dante who says,[1]—

> 'La Chiesa di Roma
> Per confondere in sè due reggimenti
> Cade nel fango, e sè brutta e la soma.'"

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[8] Gal. ii. 11. [9] 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2.

[1] Purgatorio, Canto xvi.

The names of Petrarch and Arnold of Brescia and Guicciardini were also mentioned as exponents of the same feeling; and when I referred to the remarkable chapter,[2] in which Guicciardini traces the rise and progress of the Papal power, but which was not allowed by the Papal censors to appear in the Italian edition of his History, he said that some other remarks of the same distinguished writer on the same subject, had recently been published, for the first time, in a collection of his "Opere inedite" by Canestrini, at Florence.[3]

"We must *begin*," said he, "with questions concerning the proper limits of the Pope's authority and jurisdiction, and then we may arrive in due time at reformation in matters of *doctrine*. Among those which would first come under consideration, are the celibacy of the Clergy, and the enforcement of private confession to a Priest."

"Yes," I added, "and the reading of the Scriptures by all."

"True," he replied, "we must come to that. In the mean time, Religion suffers from the struggle between the Roman Hierarchy on the one side, and the Government and People on the other; and from the conflict also between our Bishops on one side, and many of the Priesthood on the other. We are passing through a severe crisis. No one can tell to what it may lead."

In the beginning of the fourteenth century the illustrious Florentine Poet, Dante Alighieri, wrote his treatise "De Monarchiâ," in which he contended for the rights of civil Rulers against the usurpations of the Papacy; and about two hundred and twenty years afterwards the noble Florentine historian, Francesco Guicciardini, wrote his History of his own time, in which he, who was the favoured friend and counsellor of two Florentine Popes of the house of the Medici, Leo X. and Clement VII., has drawn a masterly sketch of the rise and progress of the Papacy. He there shows how, from slender beginnings, the Popes gradually arose to power; how for many centuries the Popes were

[2] In the Fourth book of his History.
[3] Printed by G. Barbèra, Via Faenza.

nominated by the Emperors; but in course of time, when the Empire became weak, the election of Popes was transferred from their hands to those of the Cardinals; and the Popes proceeded to claim a veto upon the nomination of the Emperors, and then to exercise a power of dethroning them; and so, step after step, rising higher and higher, and urging new claims, and using the terrors of spiritual weapons for temporal ends, and wielding the thunders and lightnings of a double supremacy, they kept Sovereigns in awe, and trampled all earthly Powers under their feet.[4]

Two recent publications have just been mentioned, which, as they throw much light on the history of Religion in Italy at this time, deserve some further remark.

The first of these is entitled, "*The Clergy and Society*, or *on the Reformation of the Church;*" it is written by *Filippo Perfetti*, a Priest, who was Secretary of Cardinal Marini, and Librarian of the University of Rome, and President of the Collegio Ghislieri, and who now occupies a literary post at Perugia.

It was published at Florence in 1862.

"It is a melancholy sight," he says, "and one which ought to afflict the heart of every Christian, to see the Church of Rome and its partisans abusing the name of Religion for temporal interests; and it is still more dreadful to think that this grievous abuse does not offend the consciences of all: but that, on the contrary, a man is denounced as an enemy of the Church, and a scholar of

[4] Guicciardini's words are as follows:—"His igitur fundamentis et modis ad terrenam potestatem elati, et sensim animarum salutis divinorumque præceptorum obliti, atque ad mundana imperia omni cogitatione conversi, nec divinâ auctoritate alio quàm quasi telo et instrumento rerum fragilium abutentes, Principes potiùs gentium quàm rerum sacrarum Pontifices videri cœperunt. Horum curæ et negotia non jam vitæ sanctimonia, non religionis incrementa, non ergà Deum et homines caritas, sed exercitus, sed bella in Christianos, sed pecuniæ immensa cupido, novæ leges, novæ artes, novæ insidiæ ad pecuniam undique cogendam; in hunc finem audacissimè arma cœlestia vibrare, profanarum sacrarumque rerum nundinationem impudentissimè exercere. Hinc opes in immensum adauctæ, et in totam ipsorum aulam effusæ, ex quibus fastus, luxus, mores turpissimi, libidines voluptatesque nefandæ."

Wonderful words, especially from the Secretary of the Pope.

Macchiavelli, who protests against such a violation, and is indignant at this confusion of secular and holy things."

He deplores the consequent inability of Religion to do her proper work of social sanctification. "The Church and Society are severing themselves from one another more and more. We have a Laity which is no longer religious, and a Clergy without moral influence. What will become of us? A few Priests, scattered here and there, raise a feeble voice against these evils, and they are met by maledictions!

"At a time, while civil Governments are becoming more popular, and are assuming representative forms, and submit to be controlled and criticized, the Government of the Church and its Hierarchy are becoming more and more despotic; the Priest is merged into the Bishop, and the Bishop is absorbed into the Pope. The crowning dogma of all clerical education now is idolatry of the Pope. The Pope is the Church.

"The Episcopate has had the boldness to declare to the Clergy of Italy that they have an absolute and unlimited right to suspend any Priest at their pleasure, without giving any reason for such suspension. Christ made them Ministers, and they have made themselves despots.

"What is the use of our remonstrance? Let the churches of Italy perish" (is their reply); "it matters not, if that sacrifice can maintain the Pope on his throne! Let the souls and bodies of the People perish; it matters not, even though Revolution is thus goaded to excesses, and is inspired by a malignant policy!"

Perfetti next speaks of the separation between the Clergy and the People in the public offices of Religion.

"What is now the state of things in our churches, at the time of public worship, even at the celebration of the holiest mysteries of our Religion? The People are either indifferent to what is going on, or pray without attending to what is being done by the Priest. There is a wide gulf between Priest and People, in that very place, and at the very time, when Priest and People ought to be united before God with one heart. The Priest is isolated in the very centre of the sublimest mysteries; he stands isolated at the Altar; he

stands isolated at the tombs of the Martyrs. The People know not, care not for what is going on; till they are wakened from their lethargy, not by the human voice, but as if they were mere animals. by the metallic tinkle of a bell, which is a signal to the sheep of Christ!"

He then considers the Clergy in their moral relation to the People; and shows how the Priests are incapacitated from exercising a moral influence on the popular mind by the position into which they have been forced by the Papacy —a position antagonistic to the Nation, to its liberty, its intelligence, and its advancement. Besides, the Clergy, as a body, he says, who ought to be Teachers of the people, are inferior in learning to the educated classes of the Laity; and if any one stands forth from among the Clergy, and distinguishes himself from the rest of the Clerical body by genius or learning,—such as Gioberti, Rosmini, and Passaglia,— he is proscribed by the Hierarchy, or is driven astray, as Lamennais.

"The Clergy have need of two Reforms: a reform in their morals, and a reform in their influence on society; and neither of these is possible, while the domination of the Hierarchy is unlimited as it now is. The action of the Hierarchy must be restrained within the limits of the divine constitution of the Church."

To effect this reform, Italy must (he thinks) return to the principles and practices of the Church Catholic as displayed in the Holy Scriptures, and in the works of the primitive Fathers of the Church.

The misfortune is, that the Clergy of Italy, he observes, are not acquainted with the Bible.

"The Bible, interpreted by the Church, is the food of the soul. What was the teaching of the holy Fathers? It was the exposition of the Bible. But now our Catholic populations are ignorant of the Bible; they who are called *devout* among us are ignorant of the Bible, no less than they who are indifferent to religion. The Scriptures have been supplanted by a scholastic Theology; and this scholastic Theology has produced the results which we see and deplore. The Priesthood has set itself up in the place of the Bible, instead

of building itself up with the Laity upon the foundation of the Bible. One of the greatest sins of the Catholic Priesthood is that of having wrested the Bible out of the hands of the People. Let us return to the Bible; let us return to the Gospel; and let us dive deep into the holiness of the character of the Divine Redeemer; He is our pattern; let us conform ourselves to His life, to His image. If this had been our rule, who among us would have ventured to compare the Pope, who destroys us, to the Son of God who has saved us? Perhaps the extravagant idolatry of the Papacy, which our own age has witnessed, and still sees, is permitted by God in order that we all, Pastors and People, may be revolted thereby, and be driven to the love and practice of Christian humility and charity."

The other volume, to which I have referred, is that of the Abate *Antonio Rosmini*, entitled, "*Le cinque piaghe della Santa Chiesa*,"[5] "The five wounds of Holy Church."

It is not possible to do justice to this remarkable book by a brief extract. The tone of saintly piety and serious earnestness which pervades the work, the stores of sound learning which are contained in it, the clear, calm, and unimpassioned statement of wrongs and their remedies, contribute to render it a specimen of genuine Christian philosophy.

I shall content myself with stating what, in the mature judgment of this holy man, exemplary priest, and profound philosopher, the *wounds* of the Church of Italy are, which are now bleeding, and which implore aid.

They are as follows:—

1. The severance of the Clergy from the People in public worship (pp. 1—19). The remedy for that would be, he says, in the substitution of the *mother tongue* of the people for a dead language.

2. The insufficient education of the Clergy. He deplores the neglect of the Scriptures, and of primitive Theology; and the substitution of miserable, dry, and jejune epitomes of the dogmatic teaching of the Schools. "Who will re-

[5] The edition to which I refer was published at Naples in 1860.

store," he asks, "to the Church her great Teachers? 'i suoi grandi libri,' the Bible, and the primitive Fathers?" (pp. 20—45.)

3. The disunion of Bishops; the transformation of Bishops into feudal lords, striving for wealth and power, and exercising an arbitrary sway over the Clergy. The reform would be in the restoration of the duties and privileges of the Metropolitans, and in the action of Synods (pp. 45—68).

4. The appointment of Bishops by the State, without any of the safeguards, which were provided in the ancient Church, by the intervention of the Clergy and People in the choice of Bishops (pp. 68—151).

5. The control of Ecclesiastical property by the State; the remedy is, that the Church, by which the Author means the Laity as well as the Clergy, should have the free administration of her own revenues.

This Volume was completed in the year 1846, at the accession of Pius IX.; when the Author entertained a sanguine hope, that the Pope, whose intimate friend and counsellor he was, would adopt these suggestions of reformation. The Pope offered him a Cardinal's hat; which he declined.

When Pope Pius IX. changed his policy, Rosmini was disgraced, arrested, and sent to Naples; and then exiled from Southern Italy, and his book was condemned by the Church of Rome; he submitted to the Papal sentence, and died at Stresa, on the Lago Maggiore in 1855, at the age of fifty-five.

Went to S. Onofrio to see Raffaelle's fresco in the Refectory now secularized: the colours are fresh and clear. Two of his sketches for it are preserved in the apartment; the lower limbs were carefully delineated before they were draped; an evidence of the science which underlies the surface of this great Master's pictures, and which is the cause of the beauty of the forms which it underlies.

Went in the afternoon to the Convent of St. Mark: beautiful frescos of Fra Angelico in the Cloisters and Chapter-house, and cells of the monks. Some of the figures in these

frescos are exquisite specimens of artistic delicacy and purity in conception and execution.

Visited the cell of Savonarola, described as "Apostolicus" in the inscription there; but my companion, who belonged to the Monastery, said that the great Florentine preacher was "fanatico per la libertà." These are melancholy days for all who have any connexion with Monasteries; and the memory of all Reformers, even of those who proceeded from their own body, seems to be ungrateful to them. The Italian Legislature has recently passed a Law[6] which prohibits the Monastic Orders from incorporating any new members, and transfers the property of these religious houses to the Crown, for Civil and Military purposes, under certain conditions, viz. that worship should still be maintained, and "works of art" should be preserved.

The Convents and Monasteries of Italy are now dying slowly of atrophy and inanition. Many of the cells of this noble Monastery are untenanted. The monks, who still linger on in this once celebrated Monastery, seem to be moving about like shadows ready to vanish away. Their long white flowing Dominican robes, and their large broad-brimmed black beaver hats, contrasted strangely with the bright uniforms and glittering bayonets of the soldiers who are quartered among them; and the once peaceful cloisters of Fra Angelico were sounding with the military music of the Florentine National Guard.

This suppression of Monasteries is a severe blow to the Papacy, whose most able champions and active emissaries have proceeded from them. Striking metamorphosis, and strange transition! These Monasteries, which were like camps and fortresses of the Papacy, are now converted into barracks, and the spiritual militia of the Papacy is making way for the soldiery of Victor Emmanuel.

Doubtless the vices of the Monastic Orders have been, in a great degree, the cause of the misfortunes which have lately fallen upon them. The people of Tuscany cannot forget the exposure of the immoralities practised in them, and patronized by them, of which many proofs were given

[6] December 22, 1861.

in the days of the Archduke Leopold, and which he attempted to restrain. And the large numbers of religious houses—there were then 213 Convents, and 136 Monasteries in Tuscany—were also prejudicial to them.

No institutions perish, except by internal corruption. But they who execute penal retribution upon them, are too often carried away by a spirit of revenge or self-interest, and do not reform, but destroy. Henry VIII. is justly blamed for sacrilegious rapacity; but let it be remembered that he founded two of the noblest Colleges in Europe, Trinity College, Cambridge, and Christ Church, Oxford, and six Bishoprics, out of the spoils of dissolved Monasteries. What has been done like this by the Italian Roman Catholic Church Reformers of the nineteenth century?

The Monasteries sent forth many able and learned Preachers, who in some degree made compensation for the ignorance of the Parochial Clergy, especially by their preaching as Home Missionaries in great towns.

The danger is now, that with the suppression of the Monasteries, the character of the Clergy may sink even lower than it is; and that they may become a race of mere mass-priests, ignorant and superstitious, and trading on the ignorance and superstition of others; and thus prepare the way for an antichristian outbreak of Infidelity and Socialism. Would not the Parliament of Italy do well and wisely, if, instead of proceeding to secularize all the Monasteries and their endowments, it would reserve some of their buildings and revenues for the improvement of the intellectual and social condition of the Parochial Clergy? Would not the Parliament of Italy be rendering an essential service to the State, as well as to the Church, if it were to apply some of the resources from the suppressed religious houses to the foundation of Universities and Colleges, and endowment of Professorships; particularly for the instruction of the future Clergy of Italy in Biblical learning, Church History, and dogmatic Theology? The instruction now given in the Ecclesiastical Seminaries of Italy is confessedly poor, meagre, and jejune; it is not based on a sound knowledge of Holy Scripture and the early Fathers, but on the dicta of the

mediæval Schoolmen and Papal Canonists, and cannot produce loyal subjects any more than learned divines.

I entered into conversation with one of these Dominicans whom I met in the cloister of St. Mark's. On expressing my regret at the appearance of religious indifference now visible in Florence, he said, "You ought to have come here at Lent, when some of the Churches were filled with large congregations listening to eloquent preachers."

Those preachers were members of religious Orders, and produced an extraordinary effect; some of their sermons contained energetic denunciations against Protestantism, which were enthusiastically received.[7] But they do not seem to have produced any salutary effect of a permanent character on the faith and practice of the people.

I told him that I hoped he would not judge of us by what he heard in popular harangues against Protestantism. "But," said he, "you have no 'Capo Vivo della Chiesa.'" "Yes, we have, Christ Himself." "But not His Vicario?" "No; we do not find that the Church of Christ is built upon One Apostle, but 'on Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the Head Corner-stone;'[8] not upon one stone, but upon 'twelve stones;'[9] and we know that St. Paul rebuked and resisted St. Peter, and S. Polycarp resisted Anicetus, Bishop of Rome; and S. Cyprian resisted Stephen, Bishop of Rome." "But," said he, "Augustine affirms that Cyprian expiated his error by martyrdom!" "Yes, expiated the error into which he had fallen in maintaining that baptism when conferred by heretics is no baptism at all; but Augustine does not charge Cyprian with error because he resisted Pope Stephen; indeed Augustine himself resisted two Bishops of Rome." "But," he replied, "if you read the Santi Padri, you will see your error." "We do read the Santi Padri, and I am inclined to believe that there are more copies of the Santi Padri in one 'vicolo di Londra' that I could mention, than in all the booksellers'

[7] Some account of them was afterwards given in the Civiltà Cattolica for May, 1862, p. 363.

[8] Eph. ii. 20.

[9] Rev. xxi. 14.

shops of Florence." I had been in many of them, and had not met with a single copy of any. "Oh! but, we have S. Tommaso d'Aquino, and we all study him."

Drove in the evening to the Lung' Arno, and the Cascine: beautiful lights on the hills after a shower; the air so clear and transparent, that distant objects were distinctly visible in minute details to the naked eye.

PISTOIA. SCIPIO DE RICCI'S ATTEMPTS AT REFORMATION.

Saturday, June 7th.—Went this morning by railroad to Pistoia, the Episcopal See of Scipio de Ricci, whose endeavours to make reformations in the Church of Rome in Tuscany, under the Grand Duke Leopold, in the latter part of the last century, have given to his name a celebrity beyond the limits of Italy, and deserve careful consideration at the present time.

Scipio de Ricci was born at Florence on the 9th of January, 1741. His mother was of the noble family of the Ricasoli, which has derived new lustre in our own days from the administration of Baron Ricasoli, the successor of Count Cavour in June, 1861.

Scipio de Ricci was educated in early life among the Jesuits, but he passed from their hands into those of the Benedictines, and became one of the most energetic opponents of the Jesuits, and one of the most zealous advocates of Jansenism; he was advanced to the Episcopal See of Pistoia and Prato in the year 1780.

Scipio de Ricci convened his Diocesan Synod at Pistoia on September 18, 1786, in the Church of S. Leopold. Ricci was too ambitious of pre-eminence. He wished to be the head of a religious party. There was something of vain-glorious weakness on his part in taking the lead of his brother Bishops, and separating himself from them. Thus he damaged his own cause, created opposition, and brought obloquy on himself. Besides this, he incautiously mixed up

the dogmas of Jansenism with questions of religious reformation; in so doing, he wished to humble the Jesuits and the Papacy; he adopted some of the theological propositions which had been condemned in the Papal bull *Unigenitus*, and thus exposed himself to much animadversion on religious grounds.

His Synod consisted of 234 members, priests or theologians, and was attended by several celebrated canonists. The Council had seven sessions, which were harmonious enough, and it was disposed to adopt the reforms which the Bishop proposed; but the Court of Rome exerted its influence on the nobility of Pistoia, and the opponents of Ricci were able to prevent the publication of the Acts of the Synod, under the plea that fifty-seven questions on the subjects discussed had been issued by the Grand Duke to the Bishops of Tuscany, and that their replies to those questions were far from being uniform; and "that a *National Council* of the Bishops of Tuscany was about to be summoned at Florence; and that it would be premature and inexpedient to promulgate any decrees of a *Diocesan* Synod (such as that of Pistoia), before the resolutions of the *National Council* of Florence were known."

That National Council of Florence was summoned on the 17th of March, 1787, and met at Florence on the 23rd of April in that year; three Archbishops were present, and fourteen Bishops.

This was a fatal step. The Bishops had not been prepared by previous conference and deliberation. They had not had time to consider fully the questions proposed to them. The principles and usages of primitive Christian Antiquity had not been calmly and clearly presented to their view; they were not well versed in the history of the gradual progress of Papal usurpations on the rights of the People, the Clergy, the Episcopate, and the Crown. They did not know that the Canon Law of the Roman Courts, and of their own Ecclesiastical tribunals, is adulterated with many spurious decrees, which were interpolated by Roman Canonists, for the purpose of aggrandizing the Papacy, and ought to be expunged. They regarded the Papal Canon Law with almost as much

reverence as the Bible. They brought to the Council all the prejudices derived from the study of that Papal Canon Law, and grounded on the foundation of false Decretals and mediæval traditions, that had taken deep root in the belief and practice of the Roman Catholic Church.

They came to the Council in the chains and fetters of oaths of vassalage to the Pope, by which they had bound themselves "to maintain the royalties of St. Peter against all men, and to persecute and wage war with all rebels against the Pope."

Besides, they were exasperated against Ricci personally, because, in their opinion, he had stolen a march upon them by his Synod of Pistoia; and they came together with a determination to crush him, and to reject his reforms, which they regarded as having an heretical tendency and schismatical character.

In addition to this, the questions submitted by the Grand Duke to the Bishops were so numerous and various, affecting some of the most difficult questions of theological doctrine, as well as concerning the minute details of Clerical studies and Ecclesiastical discipline, and long-established usages and ceremonies of Ritual and Worship, that the Bishops might well be alarmed at the prospect before them, and might suppose that they were threatened by a religious revolution.

Consequently, as might have been anticipated, Ricci and his Episcopal allies, the Bishops of Chiusi, Colle, and Soana, were overwhelmed by the votes of the other Bishops who were adverse to reformation. And when the majority of Bishops had once committed themselves publicly by declarations in Synod against the proposals of the Grand Duke, it was vain to hope that they would afterwards recede from those resolutions, to which they had given a formal adhesion. They were obstinately fixed in a determination to resist all reformation.

The nineteenth and last Session of this Council of Florence was held on the 5th of June, 1787. After its close the Grand Duke Leopold published a Manifesto, in which he expressed his bitter disappointment at the results of its deliberations.

After the failure of the attempt at Florence, Ricci had little encouragement to persevere in his efforts at Pistoia. Indeed, during the sessions of the Council of Florence, the populace of his Diocese had been agitated by Papal emissaries, who persuaded the people that the Bishop was infected with heretical opinions, and was determined to destroy the most sacred objects of their devotions; especially that he intended to demolish an Altar of the Cathedral at Prato, in which a *cintola*, or girdle, supposed to have been worn by the blessed Virgin Mary, was preserved with religious veneration.

On the 20th of May, the mob of Prato rose in a riot of fanaticism, and proceeded to the Church where the altar was, and tore down the Bishop's throne and arms, and burnt them in the market-place of Prato; and illuminated the Church where the sacred girdle was, and displayed it to the reverence of its votaries. They also reinstated the images which had been removed by the orders of the Bishop, and burnt the books which he had distributed among his Clergy, and menaced the professors of his Ecclesiastical Seminary, and the priests of the parishes who were supposed to be favourable to his views.

The publication of the Acts of the Synods of Florence and Pistoia, and the excitement produced by it in Italy and Europe, and the rupture which ensued between the Grand Duke Leopold and the Court of Rome, and the cabals of the Bishops of Tuscany, headed by the Archbishop of Florence, against Ricci, and their intrigues among the Clergy of his Diocese, many of whom abandoned their Bishop, and recanted their own subscriptions to the Acts of the Synod of Pistoia, were followed by the death of the Emperor Joseph in February, 1790, and by the elevation of the Grand Duke Leopold to the Imperial throne. Ricci was now isolated and disheartened; he retired from his Diocese, and resigned his Episcopal See: but Rome would not allow him to enjoy repose. The Pope, Pius VI., condemned the Acts of his Synod in the bull "Auctorem Fidei," promulgated on the 31st of August, 1794.

This Bull (which is appended to some recent editions of

Papal Canon Law[1]) contains no less than eighty-five articles on a great variety of questions of doctrine, discipline, and ritual, and shows clearly the indiscretion and rashness of Ricci in dogmatizing on so many matters, of such a miscellaneous character, and some of them of such difficulty and importance, without adequate preparation on his own part and that of his Clergy to pronounce upon them, and with still less disposition on the part of the people to accept their decisions.

Five years afterwards Ricci was arrested at Florence by those loyalists of Arezzo who had been exasperated by the excesses of the French revolutionists in Italy, and supposed him to be favourable to the Gallican cause. He was cast into prison in Florence, and from prison he was transferred to the Dominican Convent of S. Mark, where he is said to have found some comfort in the records there preserved of its former great preacher, the Florentine reformer, Savonarola, in whose cell he sometimes said Mass.

In the year 1805 Florence was visited by Pope Pius VII. on his return to Rome from Paris after the Coronation of Napoleon; and Ricci was induced by the Pope to sign a recantation, which was announced by Pius VII. with great joy in his Allocution to the Cardinals at Rome, in the Secret Consistory of June 26, 1805.[2] Ricci died at Florence on the 27th of January, 1810.

A good history of Ricci's Episcopate would be of great use at the present time. It would suggest many wholesome cautions and admonitions to those who may be led to engage in the work of Reformation.

Ricci's attempts at Reformation were abortive, but they are fraught with warning and instruction to the present age. They indicate what is to be avoided. They show that Religious Reformation must not be attempted in a spirit of self-love and self-display; not with a view of gratifying personal vanity and private ambition, but with a single eye to

[1] E. g. that of Leipsic, 1839, Appendix to tom. ii. p. 146.

[2] This speech may be seen appended to recent editions of the Roman Canon Law, e. g. that of Leipsic, 1839, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 163; compare Carlo Botta's "Storia d'Italia," lib. xxii.

the Divine glory. They show the importance of considering well where to *begin;* they show the necessity of not attempting too many things at once; and above all, of not alarming deeply-rooted prejudices, and of not exciting popular passions, especially in matters which relate to religious worship. The public mind must first be duly prepared by the diffusion of sound knowledge and intelligence, and must thus be enabled to *reform itself.* The failure of Leopold's and Ricci's attempts at Reformation seems also to afford additional proof that the true method of beginning such an undertaking at the present time, would be, as has been already said, to deal first with matters of *discipline* rather than of *doctrine.* If Ricci had not introduced the tenets of Jansenism into the Acts of his Council, but had limited himself to the Reformation of abuses in Ecclesiastical discipline and government, he would have been on safe ground. But by entering upon the region of polemical theology, he exposed himself and the Grand Duke to the suspicion of heresy, and thus frustrated the Grand Duke's attempts to put the discipline of the Church upon a better footing. The Pope would not have been able to withstand the efforts of the Tuscan Reformers, if they had carefully studied the records of the primitive Church from the times of the Apostles, and in the first four centuries, and if, when they had completely mastered that subject, they had begun with an appeal to Holy Scripture and primitive Antiquity in matters of *Church government,* and with a strenuous endeavour to restore primitive Church discipline, which the Pope detested more than all the propositions of Jansenius.

The true method of conducting the work of Reformation would be to recall the minds of the Clergy and the Nation to the principles and usages of the primitive Church, especially in the appointment of Bishops, without dependence on the Pope.

The vacancy of so many Episcopal sees in Italy at the present time, and of so many Ecclesiastical dignities, is a very favourable circumstance, which did not exist in Ricci's time. Let those vacancies be filled up with persons unfettered by trammels of bondage to the Papal See; and

when a certain number of wise, learned, pious, loyal, and patriotic men have been appointed to Episcopal sees, and other Ecclesiastical dignities, and Parochial cures of Italy, and when the popular mind has been enlightened by sound teaching of the Holy Scriptures, and by the requisite knowledge of the doctrine and discipline of the Primitive Church,—especially the Primitive Church of Italy,—then it may be hoped that, with the Divine Blessing, religious Reformation will spring forth of itself, as a spontaneous development of the inner working of the Spirit of God in the heart and mind of the Church and Nation of Italy.

I visited the Bishop's Palace, a handsome building erected by Scipio de Ricci in 1787. The See of Pistoia is now vacant. One of the Canons of the Cathedral (Monsignor Breschi) is acting as Vicario Capitolare, or Deputy of the Bishop. He has lately put forth a Pastoral, in which he exhorts the Clergy and People of the Diocese to rally round the Pope.

I also visited his Seminary, or theological training College, nearly opposite to the Palace: it has a noble corridor, and beautiful garden; and there are now about 120 students. I was informed that the system of teaching now pursued was not in harmony with the principles of the present régime. Indeed this can hardly be expected, as long as the influence of Rome is what it is, and as long as the received text-books of theological Schools are what they are. At Rieti the pupils of the Bishop's theological Seminary displayed the Papal escutcheon, on the anniversary of the Statuto; the Government shut up the Seminary, and sent the pupils home.

I had a letter of introduction to a celebrated person at Pistoia, Dom. ——, who is well known to the public as having been invited, and almost compelled, by the people of Pistoia to preach to them a series of sermons in the Cathedral last Lent; his eloquence, his high character, and his age,—and perhaps even his physical infirmity—he is nearly blind, but is very hale and vigorous—and his known hostility to the temporal power of the Papacy, brought the people to the doors of his house, which (as he informed me)

they almost besieged with clamour and importunity, and at last he yielded to their solicitations, and went to the Cathedral, where he was received with the greatest enthusiasm. But though beloved and revered by the people, he is '*suspended*' by the present representative of the Bishop, and is not allowed to hear Confessions. However, the Vicario Capitolare was forced by the people to allow him to preach.

Strange contrast! The people of Prato in Ricci's time rose in rebellion, because they thought he was going to rob them of the 'miraculous girdle;' and this year the people of Pistoia, Ricci's Episcopal city, rose up in passionate enthusiasm to do honour to a suspended Priest of the city, who makes no secret of his desire that the Pope should be divested of his temporal power.

This contrast is instructive. It shows that anything may be done in the way of reforming the abuses of the Papacy, as to its claims to temporal supremacy and dominion, and its usurpation of Ecclesiastical jurisdiction in appointment of Bishops, &c., and that the People would look calmly on, as they have lately done at the spoliation of the Pope of a large part of his territories,—indeed they have been abettors of that spoliation,—and at the suppression of Monasteries and Nunneries; but they must be educated a great deal more than they now are in the vital truths of Christianity, before they will part with a single object of their *devotion*. But when they have been educated, they will be the first to destroy the idols which they themselves have worshipped.

I had a long conversation with this venerable Ecclesiastic, and found that he was of the opinion expressed above, that Ricci failed because he attempted too much at once, and did not begin with matters of Ecclesiastical Discipline and Jurisdiction, but entangled himself in polemical questions, and thus embarrassed himself and his cause. Besides, said he, Ricci was not a man of learning, and therefore he was not a match for the Pope's theologians.

Walked with him to see another friend: we were joined in our way by a Priest who had been suspended "a divinis"

for his loyalty. "Siamo sagrificati dai nostri superiori," said he: we called together on another Ecclesiastic who is engaged in collecting materials for a history of Ricci and his times.

On this subject I will paraphrase a passage from a French writer.[3] "In their plans for Reformation, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Leopold, and the Bishop of Pistoia, Ricci, were not quite agreed. Leopold desired to nationalize the Church of Tuscany, and to emancipate it from the trammels of Rome,—to which it ought never to have been subject. Ricci aspired to be the leader of a religious party, and to humble the Papacy by achieving a triumph for Jansenism at the doors of Rome. By this imprudent measure he ruined the plans of his Master, the Grand Duke. The Pope condemned the dogmatic innovations of the Bishop, and in condemning them he censured also the disciplinarian attempts of Ricci's patron, the Grand Duke, which he feared and detested more than the Bishop's theology; and which he would not have dared to denounce publicly, for fear of exasperating both Princes and People, who had their eyes opened to the ambitious pretensions of the Court of Rome."

There is much truth in these remarks, and they deserve to be weighed well at the present crisis.

Sunday, June 8th. Whitsunday.—After the English Service went to the Duomo. "Is there any sermon here to-day?" "No," was the reply, "but there is one at S. Gaetano,"—a neighbouring church. So to S. Gaetano I went. High mass was just over, and the candles were being put out; and a bell rung, and out of the Sacristy came forth a Dominican Friar, Padre ——, one of the leading men of the Order, attended by an acolyte, and mounted the Pulpit; knelt down toward a crucifix on his left, and he began his "conferenza," as it was called, being one of a series, on the "rights of man."

He commenced with a description of man's rights *before* the Fall, and with a statement of the conditions of obedience to God by which they were controlled; and then proceeded to speak of his condition *after* the Fall. How were his lost

[3] Esprit de l'Eglise, De Potter, tom. v. p. 90. Paris, 1820.

rights to be recovered? This question (he said) could only be solved by reference to the Bible, but "not (he added) to the Bible interpreted according to each man's private sense as the Protestants teach us, but under the guidance of the Church. And Holy Scripture, thus explained, instructs us to look to Christ as our 'Reparatore.' The work of Restoration was effected by the Incarnation and Death of the Son of God; and we must avail ourselves of the benefits thus conferred upon us by God. And how are we to obtain these benefits? how are we to obtain pardon and grace? how are we to recover what Adam lost? How are we to regain heaven? The Protestants tell you that you have nothing to do but to look to Christ crucified,"—and then he turned to the crucifix in an attitude of adoration,—"and to apply to yourself the righteousness of Christ by faith, as they call it, and to assure yourself confidently that God imputes Christ's righteousness to you personally, and then, they say, the work of salvation is done for you; you need nothing more. But the Catholic Church teaches that you must lead a holy life, a life of obedience and self-sacrifice; that you must follow the example of Christ's life, if you would enjoy the benefits of His Death; you must be ready to do and to suffer for Christ, as those holy men did and suffered whom the Chief Pontiff ('il sommo Gerarca') is canonizing to-day at Rome and proposing to the veneration of the faithful (the Japanese Martyrs). But do not think that you may sacrifice your life recklessly,"—and then he uttered a strong protest and solemn warning against suicide;—"and you must be ready to give your goods to feed the poor: you must consider that nothing is your own, but that all things are common. Act in this spirit: imitate the first Christians. Do not however suppose that *property* is not authorized by Christianity:"—and then he made some good remarks against Communism:—"but exercise the spirit of love as taught by the Catholic Church; she, and she only makes men charitable: in Protestant countries there is no true Charity. There the poor perish with hunger, while their neighbours are rioting in wealth and revelling in luxury, and yet look on with indifference. He then appealed for the

alms of the congregation, and a collection was made; and he informed them what would be the subject of the next conference, at which he invited their attendance. He then descended from the pulpit and disappeared. This Sermon was delivered with ease and dignity of manner; the style was clear and elegant, the utterance fluent, ready, and agreeable.

I felt rather disconcerted by the character he had given of Protestants to the congregation, and went to the Sacristy and asked, "Has the Preacher left the Church?" "Yes; he is 'rientrato nella casa del Priore.'" "Would you have the kindness to conduct me to him?" "Certainly." I was led through a gallery, up a staircase, and was introduced into an apartment, where the Preacher was taking coffee with two other Priests, after the Sermon. The Priests retired and left me with the Preacher. Having apologized for the visit, and having expressed the pleasure I had derived from a considerable portion of the Sermon, I said I felt sure he would pardon me if, as a minister of the Church of England, I ventured to offer some respectful expostulations on certain statements in his discourse: "You said, I think, that the Protestant Communities have no rule for interpreting the Bible, but leave it to be twisted about by every man according to his caprice. This, I venture to assure you, is not the case with the Church of England. She knows that the *true sense* of the Bible *is* the Bible; and that a *false* sense is *not* the Bible, but a perversion of it; it is *man's* word put in the place of *God's Word:* the Church of England therefore not only places the Bible in the hands of her people, but she helps her people to *understand* it aright; she accompanies it with her Book of Common Prayer, in which are the three Creeds, and a Catechism, and Articles of Religion; and she says in her Articles, 'that the Church'—that is the Church universal[4]—'has *authority* in Controversies of faith.' She asserts that the Church is the 'Keeper of the Bible,' and that no one can prove the Integrity, Genuineness, and Inspiration of the Bible without the help of the Church. The Church of England defines the Canonical Books of Scripture

[4] Art. XX.

to be those books which are "generally *received in the Church.*"[5]

"Besides, you said, if I remember rightly, that Protestants teach that a man will be saved if he can assure himself that he is favoured by God; and that he need not fear anything if he can work himself up to a persuasion that God imputes to him the merits of Christ, and that this we call 'justification by faith.' Now let me be allowed to assure you, that the Church of England does not separate the doctrine of Justification from that of Sanctification, but teaches with St. Paul that 'without holiness no man shall see the Lord;'[6] and I asked him whether he was acquainted with the works of our Bishops, e.g. Bishop Bull, on this subject?" To which he replied in the negative. He listened courteously to what was said, and then replied that if I had attended to his sermon I might have perceived that he had not once mentioned the *Church of England*, for which he professed much respect: he had said nothing at all of "la Chiesa Anglicana," but that his remarks referred only to *those forms of Protestantism* which were known to the people of Florence, especially that of the *Waldenses* and their adherents, who, he said, "are very busy in making proselytes, and circulating books against our Religion: they all appeal to the 'senso privato;' and in cautioning the people of Florence against Protestantism, I referred to those Protestants with whom alone the people of Florence are acquainted: how could I do otherwise?"

This statement suggested feelings of regret that the Church of England is not better known than it is in Italy; and that the notions which the Florentines have of Protestantism should be derived from a form of Religion which is antagonistic in its operations, and which can hardly be expected to make a favourable impression upon them by its system of Church Polity, and Ritual.

I took occasion to offer a respectful remonstrance on the representation which the Preacher had given of Protestant Philanthropy. "Are you aware that the people of England have proved their sympathy with the poor by legislative enactments which make all real property liable to contribu-

[5] Art. VI. [6] Heb. xii. 14.

tions for the relief of the poor, and that thus a public regular provision is made for the succour of the indigent, in addition to the private beneficence which shows itself in the foundation and support of many charitable Institutions?" No, he was not.

We parted from one another with a friendly farewell, and I felt a strong persuasion, derived from the sober and serious tone of his sermon, and from the courteous gentleness of his manner, that we should have found many things in common between us; and I could not but desire that he had some better means than he seemed to possess of making an acquaintance with the English Church and Reformation.

Whit-Monday, June 9th.—Went in the afternoon to the beautiful Baptistery, whose bronze gates by Ghiberti were said by Michael Angelo to be not unworthy to be gates of Paradise. Two women came into the Baptistery, bringing with them a baby to be christened, one of the women being the Godmother;[7] no other person was present besides two Priests and myself.

The Priest, after breathing into the infant's face three times, made the sign of the cross upon it, and uttered a prayer; and then placed his hand upon its head, and uttered another prayer, and then exorcised the salt ("exorcizo te creatura salis"), and put a particle of salt into the infant's mouth, and said another prayer, and then made the sign of the cross on the forehead of the child, and placed his hand again on the head of the child, and said another prayer: then he recited the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, together

[7] The Church of Rome *requires* one sponsor for every infant: a man for a male child, a woman for a female child: she admits two sponsors, i. e. a man and a women for any child, but never two men or two women; nor ever the parent of the child; and she affirms that a spiritual affinity is contracted, by sponsorship, with the baptized person, and with the parents of the baptized person; which affinity precludes Marriage, and would dissolve it if it had been contracted. Monks or Nuns may not be sponsors.

In cases of danger of death, baptism may be administered, according to the Church of Rome, by any one, whether priest, or layman, or woman, even though they be heretics, excommunicated, or unbelievers, "servatâ tamen formâ et *intentione Ecclesiæ*," which (in the latter instances) seems to be a hazardous and precarious supposition.

with the sponsor; and then proceeded to exorcise the Evil Spirit with a certain form of words; and then he put his finger into his own mouth, and touched with the saliva the ears of the infant, and said, "Ephphatha, quod est, aperire;"[8] and then touched the nose of the child, and then addressed the appointed interrogatories to the sponsor, "Dost thou renounce the Devil, and all his works, and all his pomps?" He then dipped his thumb into the oil, and anointed the infant, and wiped the anointed places with cotton-wool; and then asked the sponsor, "*Dost thou believe?*"

It is observable that the Church of Rome still retains the *Apostles'* Creed in the Sacrament of Baptism, as she does the Nicene Creed in the Holy Communion;—in neither case has she ventured to append the *Tridentine additions.*

The name of the child was then asked and given: the Priest did *not* receive the child into *his own arms,* but *while* the *sponsor* was *holding* the child, he poured water with a ladle over it three times, in the form of a cross, the three affusions being made while he pronounced the names of the Three Persons of the Blessed Trinity. He then anointed the infant's head with the chrism, and wiped the head with cotton-wool, and placed a white napkin on the head of the child, while he uttered the prayer, "Accipe vestem candidam quam immaculatam perferas ante tribunal Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, ut habeas vitam æternam,"—a record of the white marriage-garment given at Baptism in the Primitive Church. He then put into the hand of the Sponsor, representing the child, a lighted taper, saying, "Accipe lampadem ardentem,"—another edifying reminiscence of the ancient practice of the Church, and of the term by which Baptism was called in the ancient Church—*illumination.*[9] The Priest then took pen and ink, and registered the Baptism in a book, and delivered a copy of the entry to the mother.

We may be disposed to regret that some of the ceremonies here mentioned have not been retained by our own Church. But on the whole the effect of the administration

[8] A bold application of the Divine words in Mark vii. 34.

[9] φωτισμός: see on Heb. vi. 4; x. 32.

of Baptism—as I saw it on Whit-Monday in this noble baptistery—was unsatisfactory. The Latin Prayers were muttered over by the Priest with unseemly haste, and were almost inaudible, and certainly would not be understood by the greater number of parents and sponsors, and there was no congregation present.

I think we may recognize the good sense of the Church of England in not being content with *one* Godfather or Godmother, and appointing that there should not be less than three sponsors: she thus provides that there should never be a baptism solemnized in her communion, to which our Lord's words may not be applied, "Where two or three are gathered together in My Name, there am I in the midst of them;"[1] and she thus secures a compliance with the Scriptural condition as to witnesses,—"In the mouth of two or three witnesses every word shall be established."[2]

I never was more strongly impressed with the value of a Liturgy in the mother tongue of the people than on this occasion. How much sound doctrinal and practical teaching is contained in the Baptismal Office of the Church of England, and how blessed and solemn is the effect of the united prayers of the congregation for the unconscious infant then received into the arms of Christ. When will the Church of Italy recover such privileges as these?

ROME. THE CANONIZATION.

June, 12, 1862.—With all the melancholy appearance of dilapidation, dirtiness, decay, and desolation, which fill the heart with sadness, on the first entrance into Rome, especially from Civita Vecchia, Rome has still a position in the world which no other city can boast. At this time it has attracted thousands and tens of thousands, from almost every part of the world. Cardinals, Patriarchs, Archbishops, and Bishops, nearly 300 in number, and an

[1] Matt. xviii. 20.
[2] Deut. xix. 15. 2 Cor. xiii. 1.

immense concourse of Ecclesiastics, about 3000, and of people from all quarters, are now dwelling at Rome, at Whitsuntide; and some have even compared this gathering to that of "devout men, out of every nation under heaven," on the day of Pentecost, listening to the voice of St. Peter. Indeed, this is the comparison used by Cardinal Mattei, in the name of all the Bishops, in his address to Pope Pius IX., in the Consistory held the day before yesterday.

Every one's mind seems full of that Address, and of the Pope's Allocution which preceded it. The occasion which produced it, the Canonization of twenty-seven persons, who died at Nangasachi in Japan, more than 260 years ago, viz. on Feb. 5, 1597, was indeed a memorable event, but in some respects of secondary importance to what was produced by it.

Canonizations are not infrequent at Rome. Nearly a hundred are enumerated by those who have written upon this subject, for example by Dr. Giacinto Amici, of "the Sacred Congregation of Rites." But the Canonization which took place in St. Peter's Church on Sunday last, Whitsunday, the great Festival when all Christendom celebrates the Descent of the Holy Spirit from Heaven, was of an extraordinary character in its circumstances and probable consequences.

The Church of St. Peter was adorned with gorgeous decorations, and blazed with the splendour of many thousand lights, and was embellished with pictures representing the miracles said to have been wrought by those whose names were enrolled by the Pope in the catalogue of Saints; and their standards, magnificently emblazoned, floated in the air.

The enormous expense, calculated at more than 40,000 scudi, gathered together as Alms, especially by the Franciscans, to whose Order most of the twenty-six Martyrs belonged, might have suggested the question, why this was not rather devoted to the glory of God, in the promotion of the Missionary cause, to which they gave their lives. Their own escutcheons, brilliantly embroidered with heraldic pomp, would have had little attraction for their meek and

gentle spirits. How much more would they rejoice to see efforts of quiet self-sacrifice, and fervent zeal to advance the standard of the Cross! We are told by the *Osservatore Romano* that 37,000 pounds of wax were used on the occasion, to illuminate St. Peter's at mid-day.

But one of the circumstances of this great ceremonial must have been still less acceptable to the souls of the holy men for whose honour it was devised. For weeks and months the Church of St. Peter had been undergoing a sort of architectural revolution, to prepare it for this Canonization. Indeed, in an engraving just published at Rome, which represents that ceremonial, the master of the works, Signor Poletti, is designated as the architect of the design which transformed St. Peter's for the occasion.

Pictures had been painted, and placed in lunettes, fourteen in number, scaffoldings erected, columns and architraves fashioned and fixed, aisles and arches blocked up, till St. Peter's, at last, might be said almost to have lost its identity. Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, and Bishops had been summoned to the Canonization from all parts of the world.

And yet on the very day of the Canonization, when thousands were assembled in St. Peter's prepared for the purpose, the Church of Rome, in the person of her Pontiff, professed to be patiently waiting for the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, to teach her how to proceed. With a semblance of holy caution, and reverential awe, she sent up solemn supplications to heaven, for the illumination of the Holy Spirit; and she made Him, as it were, to be responsible for a foregone conclusion, on which she herself had resolved many weeks before, namely, for the Canonization of twenty-seven persons, henceforth "to be venerated as Saints, and to be invoked in prayer by all the faithful of Christ." Indeed she professed to be extremely reluctant to do the very thing for which she herself had made all this vast preparation.

The Procurator of the Canonization was instructed by her to entreat earnestly (*instanter*) the Pope to comply with his wishes, and to canonize the Martyrs. He knelt before the

Pope, and uttered his prayer. But no, the intimation from above had not yet been received. They must pray again for it. The Procurator must kneel again before the Pope, and reiterate his entreaty, earnestly and more earnestly ("*instanter et instantius*"). But still the petition is not granted; he must wait longer, and must pray again. Then the Pontiff himself invokes the Holy Spirit. He intones the Hymn, "Veni, Creator Spiritus."

The Procurator repeated his petition for the third time, earnestly, more earnestly, and most earnestly ("*instanter, instantius, et instantissimè*"), that the Martyrs may be enrolled by the Pope in the catalogue of Saints, and be venerated as such by all the faithful of Christ.

Then at length the Roman Pontiff, having his mitre on his head, and sitting on his Throne, at the west end of St. Peter's Church, with long lines of Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops, ranged on his right hand, and on his left, pronounced the memorable words, "*Beatos* (here were recited the names of the Martyrs) *sanctos esse decernimus et definimus, ac sanctorum catalogo adscribimus, statuentes ab Ecclesiâ Universali* eorum memoriam annuo die eorum natali piâ devotione recoli debere, in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritûs Sancti. Amen."

He then commenced the *Te Deum;* and after it he prayed to the Saints, whom he himself had canonized.

Such was the event of last Sunday, the feast of Pentecost, at Rome.

The circumstances of that event supply a sufficient answer to those who say that the only difference between *Roman* practice and that of the rest of Christendom is this, that whereas *other* Christians designate holy men (such as the Evangelists, Apostles, and some of the Ancient Fathers) as Saints, by their own act of private judgment, the Church of Rome does it with *authority*. For what is a Canonization? what was the act of Sunday last? It was not simply an expression of opinion that such and such persons are holy, and that their memories ought to be venerated. No; the Church of Rome has *another* ceremony, that of *Beatification*, which brings out strongly what she means by *Canonization*.

One of her Pontiffs, Benedict XIV., in his work on Canonization, has explained her mind in this respect:—

"By *beatification* (he says) the Pope *allows* a servant of God to be venerated with ecclesiastical honour (cultus); *but* in *a Canonization*, the Pope pronounces a judicial sentence and decree, by which he *commands* and *ordains* that the *entire Catholic world* should honour, and *offer prayers to*, the person or persons who are canonized."[3]

Strange indeed it is, that a man, who may himself be set on the left hand at the Day of Judgment, should assume to himself the power of God, and seat himself on the Throne of judgment, and decree men to be Saints, and assign to them a share in God's honour, and command all the faithful of Christ throughout the whole world to bow down and offer prayers and supplications to them, and make them into Mediators between God and man, although God himself has not given us any warrant for the belief that the Saints departed hear our prayers, or, if they do, are able to grant them; and has taught us that all prayer must be offered with faith, and that whatever prayer is offered otherwise[4] is offensive in His sight.

This claim of the Pope to give places in heaven to those whom he canonizes, is boldly put forth in the Medal which has just been struck at Rome, and which represents Religion seated at the Vatican, with a crown and palm in one hand, and the Cross, the Tiara, and the Keys, and looking up to heaven to twenty-seven stars, representing these twenty-seven saints, and which bears this inscription,—

"Sanctorum Mater quos *dat nova sidera cœlo*."

Here also a question arises. If the Roman Pontiff may "define and decree" men to be Saints, and that they are to be invoked in prayer by all Christians, how is it that this power was never exercised by the Apostles or other Bishops

[3] See Pope *Benedict XIV.* de Beatif. et Canon. § i. 37, and *Cardinal Bellarmine* De cultu Sanctorum, i. c. vii., who says that "Canonization is that judicial sentence, by which those honours are decreed, which are due to them who *reign in bliss with God*."

[4] Rom. xiv. 23. James i. 6, 7.

in the best ages of Christianity? Did St. Peter or St. Clement ever canonize Martyrs, and pray to them for aid? No. Did Pope Leo I. or Pope Gregory I.? No. Did any of the early Bishops of Rome? No. The researches of Pope Benedict XIV. on this subject have discovered no instance of a Canonization by a Pope for about a thousand years after the birth of Christ. The first Canonization recorded is that of S. Uldaric, by John XV. in 993. The comparative novelty of the practice is a strong argument against it. And when we consider what the act of Canonization amounts to, that it is equivalent to an assumption of the attributes of Divine knowledge and judicial authority, and that it displays itself in raising mortal men, as objects of devotion and prayer, almost to a level with the Godhead, we are constrained to say, that the Roman Pontiff, sitting on his throne in the Church of God, and issuing a decree to the whole world, as he did last Sunday, and commanding them to venerate and offer prayers to twenty-seven men, who died in a distant land more than 250 years ago, may almost be said to have identified himself with one who is described by the Holy Spirit speaking by St. Paul as "sitting in the Temple of God, and showing himself as if he were God."[5]

One further reflection here.

As was already said, about a hundred Canonizations have taken place at Rome. But the Canonization of the present week differs from all preceding ones. It differs from them in the vast assemblage of Cardinals, Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops and Bishops, and others who have been convened to take part in it, and who have associated themselves with it. And it stands unprecedented in another respect also. It was a religious act done for a secular purpose, and for a temporal end. This is evident from that vast concourse of the Roman Hierarchy from all parts of the world, who greatly outnumbered the Bishops assembled at the Council of Trent.[6] Their presence was in no wise

[5] 2 Thess. ii. 4.

[6] Cardinal Wiseman, in his Reply to the Roman Catholic Clergy of "the Archdiocese of Westminster," p. 32, says, "scarcely for an œcumenical council had there ever been such a concourse of Bishops, never

necessary for a Canonization. The other Canonizations at Rome have been effected without any such assemblage. No: it was not to take part in a Canonization that the Bishops of the Roman world were summoned to leave their flocks at Whitsuntide, when they might have been expected to be holding Ordinations in their Cathedrals, and to be administering the Apostolic rite of Confirmation in their own Dioceses. It was not for any religious ceremonial that they were convoked. But the religious ceremonial itself was made the pretext for their convocation and meeting together for a secular end; for the maintenance of the temporal power of the Pope. If any one had the least doubt whether this was, or was not, the real aim of the Papacy in the present Canonization of the Martyrs of Japan, let him read the Pope's Allocution to the Priests who have flocked to Rome, and who assembled in the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican last Friday. Not a single word does it contain concerning the Martyrs. Let him read the Allocution pronounced by the Pope himself to the Cardinals and Bishops in the Consistory held on the morrow of the Canonization; let him read the Address of the 265 Bishops, signed on the very day of the Canonization, and delivered by Cardinal Mattei in that Consistory, in the name of the Roman Episcopate, against those who impugn the Pope's temporal power.[7]

This Canonization of the Martyrs on Sunday last, may therefore take its place by the side of that other act of the Papacy, which was performed in this Church, on the 8th of December, 1854, in the presence, and with the concurrence, of a large number of Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops, convened for that purpose, namely, for the promulgation of a new article of faith, the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary—a dogma which exalts her to a participation in that original sinlessness which belongs only to Christ.

on an errand of such pure feeling. The wisdom of the Episcopate has been rarely so copiously brought together, its hearts certainly never."

[7] This was also clearly proved by the publication of the famous "*Syllabus*" soon after it, which contains a condemnation of propositions specially obnoxious to the Papacy.

Friday, June 13.—Went from the Corso toward St. Peter's, with the English Consul. Crossed the Ponte Sant' Angelo. The Castle Saint Angelo, the Papal fortress, is now a French powder-magazine, and the French tricolor flag floats over its entrance. In fact, Rome may now almost be called a French City. Many of the Convents have become barracks for the French troops, of whom there are now about 12,000 in Rome. French soldiers are quartered in the Palace of the Inquisition near St. Peter's, and in the Convent of Ara Cœli on the Capitol.

The interior of St. Peter's presented a strange spectacle. Workmen were busy in removing the apparatus which had been erected for the ceremonial of the Canonization.

They were mounting up ladders, and running along scaffolds with hammers and ropes in their hands, eagerly engaged in dismantling the Church of the drapery with which it had been dressed up for that Ceremonial. The Church was a scene of bustle and confusion. The noble marble pilasters of this august fabric had been covered over with coloured paper, and the magnificent arches of the nave had been fitted with huge columns, backed with silk and velvet, with gilded festoons supporting the lunettes, in which were frescoes representing the acts and sufferings of the Japanese Martyrs. It is difficult to understand how the Pope and Prelates of Rome, who may see daily in the Vatican the most beautiful works of ancient and modern art, both in sculpture and painting, could tolerate these wretched processes of ecclesiastical upholstery and millinery. We saw one of these colossal columns let down to the pavement by ropes and pulleys, and we were surprised to find that it was hollow like a drum, and ingeniously put together with long thin laths, covered over with coarse canvas and with tinted marble paper, and surmounted with stucco capitals. Some of the workmen were stripping off the paper in shreds from these pasteboard columns, and splitting up their materials for easy removal. In fact, the process resembled that which might be seen in a theatre, the morning after the representation of some gorgeous dramatic spectacle. And this was in the noblest Church of Christendom! The beauties of the build-

ing were disguised, and tawdry unrealities were displayed in their stead. Was not this like a judicial retribution? Was it not an apt emblem of the true character of the ceremonial itself, for which all this apparatus had been contrived? Was not that also a religious drama, a scenic spectacle? brilliant and dazzling to the eye, with much show of religion, but with no soundness and solidity; an unreal phantom, a hollow pageant, a splendid mockery; a spiritual ceremony designed to serve a secular purpose, and characterized by much profession of humility, piety, and reverential awe, but, in truth, very derogatory to the dignity of the Godhead itself?

Near the west[8] end of St. Peter's, on opposite sides of the Church, are marble slabs let into the wall, which commemorate the promulgation of the doctrine of the *Immaculate Conception* by Pius IX., on Dec. 8, 1854; on which occasion, as an inscription there affirms, "he fulfilled the desire of the whole Catholic world," by decreeing as an article of faith, that the blessed Virgin was exempt from original sin. On other slabs of marble are inscribed the names of the Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops who assisted at that promulgation. There is *one* name which is *not there;* the name of a person who was not a Cardinal, Archbishop, or Bishop, but who was "pars magna," or rather "pars maxima," next to the Pope—*Carlo Passaglia.* He was selected by the Pope to be the advocate of that doctrine, and published three quarto volumes in its defence, which were printed at the Roman Propaganda, and may still be seen in its office. A fresco has been painted in the Vatican by a distinguished Roman artist, Podesti, to commemorate that event, and there the figure of Passaglia occupies a principal place; and notwithstanding some earnest entreaties from high quarters, the artist has declined to erase it. What a strange revolution! What is now the position of Passaglia, who was the "observed of all observers" at that great concourse of Bishops in 1854, and was the chosen champion of Rome on that occasion? At this the next

[8] It will be remembered that St. Peter's does not stand east and west but that the entrance is at the *east* end.

assemblage of Bishops convened by Pius IX., in 1862, he is regarded by her as one of her bitterest enemies. His papers at this moment are in the hands of the Inquisition; his escape from Rome was due, in great measure, to English friends; and he was denounced—not in name, but in terms—by the same Pope, Pius IX., in the Allocution delivered last Sunday; and this same Carlo Passaglia has collected, and is now collecting many thousand names of Italian Priests, some of high[9] position in the Church, who affix their signature to an address, representing to the Pope the evils which threaten Italy and Christendom, unless he surrenders that temporal power, for the maintenance of which the Pope himself has convened Cardinals, Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, and Bishops from all parts of the world,

The object of attack is the temporal power. I do not say that Passaglia, or that any of the many thousand Priests who have signed this manifesto, are prepared to reject an iota of the Pope's *spiritual* claims; at least, not in express terms. But inasmuch as the Papacy declares that subjection to itself is necessary to salvation, as is clearly affirmed in the Papal Bull, "Unam Sanctam,"[1] and inasmuch as the Pope affirms that "his temporal power is necessary to the well-being of the Church," and condemns all who maintain the contrary opinion, it is not easy to understand how any can call themselves "good Catholics," in the Roman sense of the term, who set themselves up against the Pope in this matter, and denounce his temporal power as injurious to the welfare of Italy and Christendom, and assume themselves to be wiser than the Pope in matters concerning the Papacy, and to have more zeal for the good of the Church, than the Bishop of Rome himself, whom they themselves call the "Supreme Head of the Church, and the Vicar of Christ upon earth." It may, indeed, be said by some—it may be said by some

[9] Among those who have signed the address are 76 Vicarii Capitolari, and 1095 Monsignori and Capitular Dignitaries.

[1] Of Pope Boniface VIII. "We declare, decree, and pronounce that it is necessary unto salvation to be subject to the Roman Pontiff;" inserted in the Roman Canon Law, Extrav. Com. lib. i. tit. viii.: vol. ii. p. 1161, ed. 1839.

among the many thousand Priests themselves who have signed that address—that they do not intend to touch a single article of Roman Catholic *doctrine*. But the fact is (whether they know it or not) they are assailing the very foundation on which all Roman Catholic doctrine rests;[2] they are assailing the Papal Supremacy. And how? Because they are rebelling against the Pope. Because they are refusing to submit to his authority, and are rising up in insurrection against it, in a matter which he asserts, in the most solemn language, to be of essential importance to the *spiritual* welfare of the Church, and to the maintenance of her doctrine. Can they put asunder what the Pope has joined together and declares to be indissoluble? If they wish really to estimate their own act from the Roman Catholic point of view, let them inquire what the Pope thinks of it? what almost all the Papal Bishops think of it? That is the true criterion to be applied.

It is, then, very remarkable that the Church of Rome is now being despoiled of her temporal power by her own children. *Not* by *Protestant* princes or *Protestant* people, but by those who profess themselves zealous Roman Catholics. Passaglia, the most distinguished member of that order, the order of Jesuits, which Pope Pius VII., when he restored them, called "the most vigorous rowers in the bark of St. Peter,"—Passaglia, the chosen champion of the Church of Rome, leads his army of Italian Priests against her, and at the head of that ecclesiastical legion, he presents his manifesto against her secular sway, with the most humble professions of loyalty to her spiritual supremacy. The Pope's own subjects in about three-fourths of his dominions, have thrown off their temporal allegiance to the Papacy, and have chosen Victor Emmanuel as their King. Victor Emmanuel himself professes to be a dutiful son of the Church, while he takes

[2] "What," asks Cardinal Bellarmine, "is the subject under discussion, when we debate concerning the Supremacy of the Pope? It is (he says) in one word, the essence of Christianity" (summa rei Christianæ). *Cardinal Bellarmine*, Præfat. in libros de Pontifice, tom. i. p. 189, ed. Colon. 1615, and he says (lib. v. cap. 7, p. 350), "that the Pope has authority over temporal matters with a view to spiritual good" (in ordine ad spiritualia).

possession of her territories, and does not disguise his intention to seat himself, if he can, on the throne of the Pontiff at Rome, and to be crowned King of Italy in the Roman Capitol. Even the Emperor of the French, the "eldest son of the Church," while he is protecting the Papacy at Rome, or rather while he is making Rome a city of France, has abetted the spoliation of the Papacy by counselling the Pope to renounce all claims on the larger part of his dominions which have revolted from him, and by recognizing Victor Emmanuel as King of Italy.

Passaglia and the 9000 Priests with him can hardly remain where they are. Their position seems insecure, and hardly tenable; they are like persons who are trying to stand and fight upon an inclined plane. They must either recede or advance. Either they must go backward to the dogmas of Ultramontanism, and must receive freely and unreservedly all the claims of the Papacy, temporal and spiritual; or else they must go forward and boldly challenge those claims, and apply to them a searching and unflinching criticism, and try them by the tests of Scripture and Primitive Antiquity. There is no middle course; and if they desire to succeed, and render true service to the Christian Church, and to the Kingdom of Italy, they must not cling to the Papal Canon Law, but appeal to the principles and usages of primitive Catholicity. They must renounce many of the decrees of Trent, and hold fast those of Nicæa.

These are strange events, and deserve careful attention, not only in a political, but in a religious sense. And, perhaps, the writer may be pardoned for expressing a belief, that in these wonderful events we may recognize a fulfilment of the prophecies of Holy Scripture.

All the greatest Roman Catholic Divines (such as Cardinals Bellarmine and Baronius, and Bossuet) acknowledge that the city of Rome is designated by the name of Babylon in the Book of Revelation by St. John. Now, one of the things predicted of the spiritual Babylon by St. John, is, that some who had been formerly her *subjects*, and *vassals*, would "eat her *flesh*, and make her desolate and naked," [3]

[3] Rev. xvii. 16.

and the divine decree against her is, "Reward her even as she rewarded you, and double unto her double according to her works: in the cup which she hath filled, fill to her double."[4]

It is surely worthy of remark, that the sufferings of Rome at the present crisis concern her *temporal* power, as distinguished from her spiritual; they concern her "*flesh*," the *carnal* element of her system, *that* element which she has too often used for carnal purposes. And they who are inflicting upon her those sufferings, and who are at this time, "devouring her flesh," and are "making her desolate and naked," are not her open enemies, but those very persons, who were formerly her subjects, and who are even now professing themselves her friends.

If also we consider her present sufferings in relation to those which she herself inflicted upon others in former times, it will be perceived that they bear a remarkable resemblance to them. She has now been deprived of a large part of her temporal dominions; she has lost Romagna, the Marches, and Umbria; and the King of Italy, aided by the almost unanimous voices of the people of Italy, does not scruple to avow his determination to dethrone the Pope as temporal Sovereign of Rome. When Cardinal Antonelli said in his famous rescript that the Pope could not give up his temporal dominions, which he had received as a trust, to rule, and not to give away, there was a noble truth embodied in that inflexible "*non possumus.*" But did it then cross the Cardinal's mind, that the Popes of old, for many centuries, turned a deaf ear to that same plea, when urged by Sovereign Princes in former ages? The Popes would not listen to the remonstrances of Kings, who said that they could not surrender their Realms to the Papacy, because they had received those Realms to rule, and not *to give away*. The Popes were inexorable, they deprived Kings of their dominions, and hurled them from their thrones, and those Popes who dethroned Kings have been canonized by Rome, and are now worshipped by her as Saints.

Pope Gregory VII. would not accept a "non possumus"

[4] Rev. xviii. 6.

from the Emperor Henry IV. Innocent III. would not accept a "non possumus" from Otho, or from King John. Honorius III., Gregory IX., and Innocent IV., would not tolerate a "non possumus" from the Emperor Frederick II.; and if Paul III. had had his will, he would not have tolerated a "non possumus" from King Henry VIII.; nor Pius V., and Gregory XIII., from Queen Elizabeth. And now the King of Italy, and People of Italy, and even many thousands of the Priests of Italy, will not listen to a "non possumus" from Pope Pius IX. Rome receives the same measure which she meted out to others for many generations. The Divine decree has gone out against her, "Reward her, even as she has rewarded you; in the cup which she hath filled, fill to her double."

We went from St. Peter's to the Villa Pamfili Doria, to the Fontana Paolina on the Janiculum, where was a beautiful view of the city lying beneath us in the quiet evening light, just before sunset. The fountain in the background added greatly to the beauty of the scene, with its cascades of clear cool water, flowing down in copious streams into the lucid basin below. Turning back, we came to San Pietro in Montorio, said to be the spot where St. Peter was crucified; and saw Bramante's little model Temple, similar to that in Raphael's cartoon of St. Paul preaching at Athens.

Saturday, June 14th.—Went at seven in the morning to St. John Lateran, to be present at the Ordination, which takes place there annually on this day, the Saturday before Trinity Sunday.

The Bishop, who was holding the Ordination, was Cardinal Patrizi, Cardinal Vicar, Bishop of Portus, a successor of S. Hippolytus. He was seated in the apse of the Church, attired in brilliant robes spangled with gold, and wearing a scarlet cap, which he exchanged occasionally for a gilded mitre; he had also scarlet shoes and scarlet gloves, and at his side a pastoral staff. On his right were some of the Canons of the Church, who assisted him in the Ordination, and on his left were the candidates for Ordination. These were of several grades. Candidates for the Orders of

1. *Lectores* or *Readers*.

2. *Acolytes.*
3. *Subdeacons.*
4. *Deacons.*
5. *Priests;* which Orders were conferred on the Candidates respectively in succession.

The names of those who were to be ordained *Lectores*, or Readers, were called over by a notary, and each answered "*adsum*" to his name, and they were presented by the Archdeacon, and then were addressed by the Bishop, who gave them a Charge from the "Pontifical," concerning the duties they would have to perform as Lectores, in the Church, viz. to read "distinctè et apertè ad intelligentiam et ædificationem fidelium," so that all might *hear and understand.* He then delivered to them a Book, which they touched with their right hands, and he said a prayer over them, and they returned to their place.

Next, the names of the *Acolytes* were called over, and they were presented in like manner, and received a charge from the Bishop, concerning their duty to provide candles for the Church, and bread and wine for the Holy Eucharist, and to make their own light shine before men, and to offer a reasonable sacrifice to God by holiness of life. He then delivered to each a candlestick, and an ewer, and said a prayer over them.

The *Subdeacons* came next, each clothed in an amice, an alb with a belt, and a maniple in his left hand, and a tunicle over his left arm, and a candle in his right hand.

The Bishop, sitting on his chair, with his mitre on his head, then addressed them, and told them that hitherto they had been free to return to the world, and to secular pursuits, but as soon as they had been ordained to the office of Subdeacon, they would be bound by a perpetual vow of Celibacy, and be devoted wholly to the service of the Church.

They then knelt down before the Bishop, and the Archdeacon called those who were to be ordained *Deacons and Priests*, and they came forward from their seats, and were arranged in front of the Bishop.

The candidates for the *Diaconate* differed in dress from the others, in having a stole in their left hand, and a dalmatic

over their left arm, and the candidates for the *Priesthood* had a chasuble on their right arm, and a white napkin in their left hand.

The Bishop then knelt at a faldstool, and all the candidates for Ordination prostrated themselves flat at full length, with their faces on the ground, all ranged in a direction towards the apse of the Church, and in front of the Bishop's throne.

They continued lying flat on the ground, and then followed the Litany, in which, after supplication to the three Persons of the Blessed Trinity, and to the Trinity in Unity, in the same form as in our English Litany, was a long series of invocations of Saints, about sixty in number, each invocation being followed by the response, "*Ora pro nobis;*" then came other supplications, closely resembling those in our English Litany, followed by the responses, "*Libera nos, Domine*" (Good Lord, deliver us), and "*Te rogamus, audi nos*" (We beseech Thee to hear us, Good Lord), corresponding in many respects to the Latin Litany used in our English Convocation.

At the end of the Litany the Bishop arose, and having his mitre on his head, and his pastoral staff in his left hand, prayed for a blessing on those who were to be ordained, and who still remained prostrate on the ground.

After the prayer, they who were to be ordained *Deacons* and *Priests* stepped aside, and they who were to be ordained *Subdeacons* knelt before the Bishop, while he delivered them a charge on their duties, with regard to the Altar, the sacred vessels and vestments, and the water to be used in their ministry, and in washing the vessels and the vestments. He then delivered to each an empty chalice and paten, which they touched with their right hand, and the Archdeacon delivered to them ewers with wine and water, and a basin and towel; and after certain prayers, the Bishop invested each with the amice, and delivered to each a maniple, and clothed each with a tunic, and delivered to each a book of the Epistles, and authorized them to read it in the Church, both for the living and the dead, "*tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis.*"

After certain preliminaries, they who were to be ordained

Deacons came and knelt before the Bishop. The Archdeacon presented them to the Bishop with words similar to those in our English Ordinal. The Bishop asked whether they were worthy. The Archdeacon certified their fitness. The Bishop said, "God be thanked" (*Deo gratias*), and inquired of *the people* whether they had any objection to make to the Ordination of any of the candidates.

He then delivered a solemn charge on the duties *of Priests;* referring to the office of the Priests under the Law, and the seventy-two disciples under the Gospel. The candidates then knelt before the Bishop, and he laid both his hands on the head of each in succession, and the Priests who were present did the same, passing along the lines of the candidates as they knelt, and they continued to hold their hands upraised in the air, and the Bishop uttered a prayer. He then drew the stole from the left shoulder over the right shoulder of each, and invested each with the chasuble; and began the Hymn, "*Veni, Creator Spiritus.*" He then took off his gloves, and anointed the hands of each candidate with oil, and prayed that they might have the grace of benediction and consecration. He then closed the hands of each, and one of the ministers tied together the hands of each, palm to palm, with a white napkin; and while each held his hands closed, the Bishop placed the Chalice with wine and water, and the Paten with the wafer between the fingers of each, and said to each, "*Receive the power of offering Sacrifice to God, and to celebrate Masses both for the living and the dead, in the name of the Lord. Amen.*" Their hands were then unbound, and they wiped them with a long towel; and a golden ewer and basin were presented to the Bishop, in which he washed his hands.

The Mass was then celebrated; at the Offertory each of the Candidates knelt before the Bishop, and offered to him a lighted candle, and kissed his hand. Many portions of the service were sung by the choir, accompanied with the organ.

There was much that was very striking and impressive in this service, and much that dates from the best times of

primitive Christian Antiquity. The *appeal to the people* at the beginning of the Service, the charge to the candidates to *read the Scriptures clearly and distinctly for the edification of the People*,—all this bore the stamp of genuine Catholicity. But it is much marred and impaired by the fact, that this appeal is made in a dead language, and that the Scriptures are read by the Church of Rome in a tongue which is not understood by the People. Does not her own Ordinal, therefore, utter a protest against her practice?

The Service itself seemed to have little interest for the people. There was a very small congregation. We may well be thankful that the Church of England, which has retained much of the primitive substance of the Ordinal, has abandoned the Latin, and has substituted the vernacular in its stead. Can it be doubted, that if the Church of Rome had done the same, this magnificent Church of St. John Lateran would have been thronged to-day with worshippers?

There is another characteristic of the Roman Ordinal, which tells greatly to its disadvantage as compared with the English Office. This is in the entire absence of interrogatories to the Candidates. The future Deacons and Priests answer *no questions*, and make *no declarations*, in the presence of God and the Church, at their Ordination. They make no engagements and promises to which they may afterwards look back in their ministry for godly resolution and courage, quickened by the remembrance of the devout prayers offered by them and for them, for spiritual strength. Surely this is to be regretted, for their own sake, and for that of the people; and we may be thankful to God for His guidance to those who framed our own Ordinal, in this respect.

The English Ordinal has sometimes been said to be defective, in not providing for that which the Church of Rome holds to be essential for the ordination of a Priest; viz. the commission to *offer sacrifice*, and to celebrate the Holy Eucharist, accompanied with the delivery of the Chalice and the Paten.

But on this it may be observed, that as far as any function

to be rightly performed by a Priest is concerned, this *is* provided for by the Church of England, in the words, "Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a *Priest* in the Church of God;" and it has been proved by learned writers (such as Marinus, a Roman Catholic Author) that the words in question in the Roman Ordinal, and the delivery of the sacred vessels, are not of primitive authority, but of comparatively recent introduction: the same may be said with regard to the anointing of the hands.[5]

In saying this, we may also feel a wish that our Reformers had seen fit to preserve something more of the ancient ceremonial, in this solemn act of the Christian Church. Might they not have left the episcopal mitre? and especially the pastoral staff, that beautiful, affecting, and expressive symbol of the love and care of the faithful shepherd, in feeding and tending the flock of Christ?

Monday, June 16th.—Went to the Capitol; wished to see the fine view from the top of the tower, but was not allowed to do so. On making a second application, two or three days afterwards, I was informed by the *custode,* that no one is permitted to mount the tower, the authorities being afraid that some revolutionary person should take advantage of the permission, and plant the flag of Italian liberty upon the summit of the Roman Capitol.

Went into the neighbouring Church of Ara Cœli: the Convent was filled with French soldiers; the Church was tawdrily decked out; there had been a special *funzione,* with the purpose of obtaining Divine protection (as an inscription in large letters near the altar intimated) against "the dangerous delusions of heretics."

To the Vatican: *stanze* and *loggie* of Raffaelle; on which I need not enlarge; but cannot forbear observing, in the words of a companion, that the figure of Heliodorus driven from the temple of Jerusalem (see 2 Macc. iii. 23—40) by the angel rider on the horse, and the representation of the Angel himself, are beyond all praise for spirited and powerful drawing. And in that other fresco, representing

[5] On these points the reader may see more in Bingham's Antiquities, Book ii., chap. xix., sect. 17.

Attila repelled from Rome by the appearance of St. Peter and St. Paul in the sky, there is something inexpressibly beautiful in the contrast between the two sides of the picture. The war-horses of the fierce Huns are scared, and have become unmanageable; but the mules on which the Pope, Leo I., and the Cardinals ride, are perfectly quiet; and the air of the Pope and Cardinals is as placid and serene, in figure and countenance, as the Huns are terror-stricken and amazed.

The victory of Constantine over Maxentius, which is represented in a neighbouring apartment, was left unfinished by Raffaelle. It is so full of action, and crowded with figures, that it rather fatigues the eye.

Tuesday, June 17th.—Anniversary of the creation of the present Pope, Pius IX., born in 1792, May 13; created Cardinal 1839, Dec. 23; Pope, June 17, 1846; so that he is now in the seventy-first year of his age, and enters to-day on the seventeenth year of his Popedom.

On this day, sixteen years ago, that strange and awful Ceremony took place, which is called by Roman Catholic writers themselves the "*Adoration* of the Pope[6]" (Adoratio Pontificis). After his election, Pius IX. was carried in his "sedia gestatoria" from the Vatican to St. Peter's Church, and was placed there *upon the High Altar;* and sitting in the Temple of God, and upon God's altar, he was *adored* by Cardinals bowing and kneeling before him. And four days afterwards he was *crowned*, sitting on the balcony over the portico of the same Church; and when the triple crown was placed on his head, he was addressed by the Cardinal who crowned him in these words, "Know that thou art the Father of Princes and of Kings, *Ruler of the World* (*Rector Orbis*)."

How many great events have been compressed into that brief compass of time since those words were uttered! First, the Papal decree of April, 1847, announcing the assembly of notables from the provinces, for a state-consul-

[6] It is so called in the Official "Notitia Congregationum et Tribunalium Curiæ Romanæ," ed. 1683, p. 125; and is described in the "Cæremoniale Romanum," lib. iii. § 1.

tation; representative privileges granted; the name of Pius IX. a watchword of liberty; Italy was to become a free nation, with the Pope at its head. But how soon was the dream dispelled! The Pope's minister Rossi was assassinated, the Republicans gained the ascendancy, the Pope fled from the Quirinal in the disguise of a servant, and took refuge at Mola di Gaeta. But again the scene was changed; the Pope was brought back by the French arms in April, 1850; and for nine years Rome and the Roman States remained at peace under the protection of France. Then came the campaign of Lombardy, the battles of Palestro, Magenta, Solferino, and San Martino, in the month of June, 1859; and the overthrow of Austrian rule and influence in the greater part of Italy; and the peace of Villafranca, on July 11th, 1859, which checked the tide of Italian victories, and preserved Rome to the Pope, and Venice to Austria. Lombardy, Tuscany, the Duchies of Parma and Modena, the provinces of Umbria, and the Marches, Naples, and Sicily attached themselves to Piedmont, and acknowledged Victor Emmanuel as King of Italy; and Rome with a small tract of neighbouring territory is now isolated, and is almost a province of France.

The Pope has not removed his seat from Rome to France, and fixed it at Avignon, as was done in the 14th century; but France has placed Rome under her own protectorate, and she has acquired an imperial Avignon on the soil of Italy. Rome itself is her Avignon. Napoleon III. has realized a great part of the ideal policy of Napoleon I. who desired to govern the Roman Catholic world by means of the Papacy. He has not brought the Pope from Rome to Paris to grace his own Coronation in Notre Dame; but he has made Rome a suburb of Paris, and the Pope a pensioner of France.

The Gauls of old besieged and took Rome, and not far from the spot where we are, the Gallic conqueror, Brennus, cast his ponderous sword into the scale which held the thousand pounds' weight, that was to be counterpoised by the gold to be paid by Rome to his troops. The sword of his descen-

dants is now put into the scales which weigh the fortunes of Rome.

Napoleon III., in his autograph letter to Victor Emmanuel (Vichy, July 12, 1861), used these memorable words: —"For eleven years I have continued to support the power of the Holy Father; and notwithstanding my desire not to occupy with a military force any part of the soil of Italy, its circumstances have threatened to be such, as to render it impossible for me to evacuate Rome;" and yet, he added, "the Italians are the best judges of what concerns themselves, and it does not become me, *who have been created by the choice of the People, to exercise any pressure on the decisions of a free People.*"

It is not easy to reconcile these statements; "the decisions of a free people" have been pronounced clearly enough in the sense that "Rome ought to be the capital of Italy," and if the decision of the people is really the rule of the imperial policy, ought not the imperial troops "to evacuate Rome"?[7]

It would seem, therefore, that this declaration was not very agreeable to the Papacy.[8] One of the first acts of the present Administration of Italy, was to despatch a note to all its Representatives at foreign courts, with a statement that "the King has received a mandate from the Parliament and the Nation to transfer the seat of Government to Rome" (20th March, 1862); and then it proceeded to assert its devout submission to the Pope as the head of the Church, and its determination to "maintain him in the independent exercise of his *spiritual* power."

It would be presumptuous to speculate confidently con-

[7] From the despatch of the late French Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Thouvenel (Paris, 30th May, 1862), to the Marquis la Vallette, lately French Ambassador at Rome, and from the answer of the latter, dated Rome, 14th June, 1862, it appears that the Emperor urged the Pope to renounce all claim on those portions of his dominions which have revolted from him; and by recognizing Victor Emmanuel as King of Italy, Napoleon III. has gone so far as to acknowledge the popular will as the arbiter of the destinies of the Papacy. [Rome was entered by Victor Emmanuel's troops on Sept. 20th, 1870.]

[8] See Civiltà Cattolica, 5th April, 1862, p. 119.

cerning the future. But one remark occurs here. The Roman historian, Livy, when estimating the probable result of a conflict between Alexander the Great and the Roman Republic, justly remarks that Alexander's power was concentrated in *one man*, but the power of Rome had a corporate and permanent character; it was the power of a *Nation*.[9] So it may be said now. The policy and aspirations of Napoleon III. are those of an *individual;* they hang by the thread of a single life; but the resolutions and desires of those who are on the other side are those of a *Nation*, and possess therefore more elements of stability and success.

Went this morning to the Capitol. The State-Carriages of the Senators and the Conservators were drawn up on the area near the statue of Marcus Aurelius, in readiness to convey their masters to the Vatican, to congratulate the Pope on this day's anniversary. The carriages were bedizened with vermilion, and a gilded shield inscribed with the letters S.P.Q.R., "Senatus Populusque Romanus." What a contrast to the days of old, when these words were carried aloft on the victorious standards of Rome, and the cars of the Scipios mounted to the Capitol in triumph, and the snow-white oxen of Clitumnus

"Romanos ad templa Deûm duxere triomphos!"[1]

The lacqueys of the Senators, &c., were dressed in crimson and yellow, and their masters in a costume like that in the pictures of the seventeenth century,—black, with broad white collars.

We saw a child sitting under the colonnade, throwing away faded flowers—emblematical of the history of the spot.

Turned aside from the Capitol to the S.W., toward the Tarpeian Rock, which is in a garden filled with oleanders, pomegranates, and cactus, and commands an interesting

[9] Liv. Hist. ix. 18, "Quantalibet magnitudo hominis concipiatur animo, *unius* tamen ea magnitudo *hominis* erit, quam qui extollunt . . . . non intelligunt se *unius hominis* res gestas cum *populi rebus* conferre."

[1] Virg. Georg. ii. 148.

view of the southern and western portions of Rome. Our guide was an old servant of the late Baron Bunsen, who resided here thirty years ago, as Prussian Minister, in the Palazzo Caffarelli, and the old man spoke of him in terms of affectionate gratitude. Let me also bear testimony to the genial kindness, frequently repeated, with which, in common with many other English friends who visited Rome at that time, I was welcomed in that palazzo; and to the intellectual enjoyment and instruction there provided for the guests, in those delightful evenings at the Prussian Embassy, and at the reunions of the Archæological Institute under the presidency of the Prussian Minister, M. Bunsen.

There was then a graceful refuge for Literature and the Arts at Rome, a quiet Arcadia, in the Society gathered together under that hospitable roof; "sed hæc *priùs fuere*" —the din of politics and war has driven away the Muses from that peaceful retreat.

A French Priest, who joined us in coming from the Tarpeian Rock, responded in the affirmative to the remark suggested by the sight of the French soldiers quartered on the site of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, "La France est maîtresse de Rome."

We looked southward to the Palatine Hill, the ancient abode of Augustus and his successors. It is a noteworthy incident that the Emperor of the French has lately purchased a considerable portion of the imperial hill, that part which is nearest to the Via Sacra and the Roman Forum. A convent of French nuns is now domiciled there.

We crossed from the Tarpeian Rock to the Mamertine Prisons. A mass was just over, which had been said in the lower cell, supposed by some to have been the prison of St. Peter; and an inscription is there visible in the wall, which affirms that the well of water there was miraculously produced by the Apostle; and that the indentation in the wall on the stairs is an impression of St. Peter's head. It has been proved, however, that the well existed long before the age of St. Peter.

"Quodcunque ostendis mihi sic, incredulus odi."[2]

[2] Horat. Ars Poet. 188.

Pity it is, that by affirming *too much*, the modern traditions have given encouragement to the scepticism which would believe *nothing*.

It is to be regretted, that even the Bishop of Orleans, in his sermon lately preached at Rome, should have said, that in his walks through Rome, the Mamertine Prisons had little interest for him as having been the dungeon of Jugurtha and of the accomplices of Catiline—which it is certain they were—and that when he, the Bishop, desired to recruit his courage, he went to those prisons because he there found St. Peter and St. Paul.[3]

We descended the hill into the Forum—Campo Vaccino—significant name; eloquent memento of the instability of human greatness—goatherds and peasants, with loaded waggons of hay crossing to the Via dei Fenili close by, are now the principal living objects in the place formerly thronged with crowds of the ancient masters of the world, passing through the magnificent Forum in triumphal processions to the Capitol. We might almost imagine ourselves living in the days of Evander. In the words of an English Poet[4] now too little read, George Dyer,—

> "In Carinæ's street
> The shepherd to his sheep . . . .
> Sits piping with his oaten reed, as erst
> Here piped the shepherd to his nibbling sheep,
> When the humble roof Anchises' son explored
> Of great Evander, wealth-despising king,
> Amid the thickets; so revolves the scene;
> So time ordains, who rolls the things of pride
> From dust again to dust."

Went on through the Forum, along the Via Sacra, under the Arch of Titus, to the Colosseum,—

> "The enormous Amphitheatre behold!
> Mountainous pile, o'er whose capacious void

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[3] P. 20. "C'est là que je retrouve *Pierre* et *Paul*. Que se passe-t-il dans l'âme de ces grands Apôtres, enchainés là tous deux, seuls, dans cet infect cachot?" No ancient authority can be cited in support of this assertion.

[4] George Dyer's Ruins of Rome, p. 35.

Pours the broad firmament its varied light,
While from the central floor the seats ascend,
Round above round, slow widening to the verge;
A circuit vast and high; nor less had held
Imperial Rome and her attendant realm,
When, drunk with power, she reel'd with fierce delight,
And oped the gloomy caverns, whence outrush'd
Before the innumerable shouting crowd
The fiery madden'd tyrants of the wilds,
Lions and tigers, wolves and elephants,
And desperate men more fell." [5]

The *Colosseum*,—or, as it is sometimes incorrectly called, *Coliseum*,—was probably so named from the Colossus of the Emperor Nero, which stood near it. The word "Colosseum" does not occur, I believe, in the extant works of any ancient Roman writers; it is said that it is first found in the writings of an Englishman—the Venerable Bede.[6] It was anciently called the "Flavian Amphitheatre," having been begun by one emperor of the Flavian family, Vespasian, and completed by another, his son Titus, who dedicated it, A.D. 80—with a slaughter of many thousand wild beasts. Its Architect is unknown.

Wood-pigeons were flying about the lofty walls, and nestling in their crevices, and wild flowers were waving in the wind in the shattered arches, and above them was the beautiful clear sky; and the vast cavea was desolate, which was formerly thronged with crowds of eager spectators—it would contain more than 80,000—who came to witness the courageous combats of Christian Martyrs with the lions, which were let loose upon them from the dens beneath these arches, and rushed upon them in that arena; and in that arena itself now stands the Cross of Christ, with representations of the instruments of the Passion—the lance, the hyssop, and the reed.

Here indeed we are on safe ground; here we may come to recruit our flagging courage, without fear of contradiction. Here we may cheer ourselves with a remembrance of those who, like S. Ignatius, in weakness and old age, were brought

[5] George Dyer's Ruins of Rome, p. 27.

[6] See the excellent description in Merivale's Rome, vol. vii. page 40.

from distant lands to be "a spectacle to men and angels" in this Amphitheatre. Here our hearts may be comforted, and our minds may be invigorated by a remembrance of the divine grace given to them from above, which enabled them to meet that conflict with joy, and to be the gazing-stocks of those thousands of spectators, to be exposed to their sneers and scorn, and to confront those lions with courage, and to look up calmly and steadfastly into heaven, and to behold the glory that would be revealed in the heavenly City. "Suffer me," cried the aged Martyr, S. Ignatius—the scholar of the beloved disciple, St. John—in his address to the Roman Christians, "suffer me to be the food of wild beasts. Do not intercede for me. I know what is good for me.[7] Fire and the Cross, the assaults of wild beasts, the tearing of my limbs, the breaking of my bones, the grinding of my whole body—I welcome them all; only that I may gain Christ. I shall then begin to *live*. Do not envy me *life*. Do not desire that I should *die*. I long to be with God. Permit me to behold that pure light; when I shall arrive there, then I shall be a man of God. Permit me to be an imitator of the sufferings of my God."

With such words as these on their lips, the souls of the blessed Martyrs departed in peace,—and winged their flight to Paradise, like those doves which we saw nestling in the arches above us, and soaring in the clear blue sky, and they enjoyed the Psalmist's desire, "O that I had wings like a dove! for then would I flee away, and be at rest."[8]

The last words of S. Ignatius not only afford a striking testimony to the Divinity of the Saviour, but are also a proof that it was the recollection of His sufferings in His Manhood, and of the glories to which those sufferings led, which—with the help of the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven by Christ when glorified, to abide for ever with His Church—enabled the Martyrs of the Colosseum to fight the good fight of faith, and to gain the palm of victory. It was that Cross—which now stands in the Arena, and has conquered the world—which cheered them in the conflict,

[7] S. Ignatius, Epistle to the Romans, c. 4, c. 5, c. 6.
[8] Ps. lv. 6.

and enabled them to win the crown. What stronger proof of the truth of the Gospel could be desired, than that which is supplied by the remembrance of the spectacles of Christian heroism, which were once seen in the Colosseum, and by the subsequent history of Paganism on the one side, once dominant but now dead, and of Christianity on the other, once despised, and now diffused throughout the world?

Walked from the Colosseum to the Church of S. Clement, perhaps the most interesting church in Rome for antiquity. In its structure and in the arrangement of its parts it reminded us of the Church of S. Ambrogio at Milan. Near this spot, S. Clement, the friend of St. Paul,[9] as is probable, lived and taught, and S. Gregory the Great preached. You pass through an atrium or area (as at S. Ambrogio) before you enter the Church. In the Choir are ancient *ambones* or pulpits, for the reading of the Epistle and Gospel,—the place for preaching sermons was on the steps of the altar.

It is said by a celebrated liturgical writer, Martene,[1] that in this Church of S. Clement, "the oldest of Rome, there were three ambons; two on the right side, one for the Epistle, turned towards the Altar: another for other lessons of Scripture, towards the people; a third, rather higher and more adorned, on the left side, for the Gospel."

In the apse, the vault of the tribune is inlaid with mosaics executed at the end of the thirteenth century, representing our Saviour on the Cross, from which issue four rivers of Paradise, the Cross being "the tree of life in the midst of the garden;" and shepherds and their flocks are displayed as refreshed thereby.

Beneath the present Church of S. Clement are the remains of another still more ancient Church, which has recently been brought to light by the Dominican Prior, Dr. Mullooly. How it came to pass that this Church was ruined, or forgotten, it is difficult to say. Among other remarkable objects in it is an ancient fresco of Bishops of Rome arranged in the following order:—

[9] Phil. iv. 3.

[1] Martene de Ant. Ecc. Disc. i., col. 373, ed. 1736.

1. Linus.[2]
2. Clemens.
3. Petrus.

Yet Rome now asserts that Peter was the *first* Bishop of Rome, and founder of the Church there, and builds the claim to supremacy of Roman Bishops on the supposed fact of their being successors to him. The *uncertainty* of the chronology of the earlier Roman Bishops[3] is in itself a strong—may we not call it, a providential argument?—against the claims put forth by Bishops of Rome, on the ground of his being the founder of their see, and of their succession to him.

Went in the evening to a villa on Monte Mario, where we spent some agreeable hours. We passed near that beautiful pine-tree which was rescued by the late Sir George Beaumont from destruction, and which suggested some affecting verses of his friend the late Poet Laureate.[4] The villa commands a beautiful view of Rome—most beautiful in the evening—and of the course of the Tiber, and the Milvian Bridge—the site of Constantine's victory over Maxentius—and Mount Soracte, and the Sabine and Alban hills.

The Roman Poet's words aptly describe it,—

> "Puris leniter admoventur astris
> Celsæ culmina delicata villæ;
> Hinc septem dominos videre montes
> Et totam licet æstimare Romam.
> Albanos quoque Tusculosque colles."[5]

Rome is isolated in the midst of the sea of the Campagna; it has no suburbs.

[2] *S. Irenæus*, iii. 3, affirms that Linus was settled as Bishop of Rome by St. Peter and St. Paul (cp. *Epiphan.* Hær. xxvii. and *Eusebius*, iii. 2), and that after Linus came Anacletus, then Clement. iii. 3.

[3] Compare *Bishop Pearson*, Opera Postuma, vol. ii. cap. vi. p. 322; cap. x. pp. 393—395. The Catalogue given by *Eusebius* in his History does not coincide with that in his Chronicle; see Pearson, cap. xi. p. 406, and p. 433, and *Clinton*, Fasti Hellenici, vol. ii., Appendix, p. 538, and *Dean Burgon's* Letters from Rome, p. 155.

[4] Memorials of a Tour in Italy, ii.
"I saw far off the dark top of a Pine," &c.

[5] Martial, iv. 64.

Wednesday, June 18.—Went to S. Maria Maggiore and S. John Lateran. How many interesting events are connected with these churches, especially the latter. A history of the Councils held in this Basilica would almost be a history of the Papacy since the twelfth century, in its relations to the struggles of the Reformation. It would bring before us the discussion of the question of Investiture of Bishops (a question at this time so important for Italy) in the first Lateran Council in the year 1122; the prohibition of marriage of the Clergy, and the separation of those who were married. It would remind us of the attempt of the Church of Rome, in the Second Lateran Council, A.D. 1139, to appease the schism in the Papacy between Innocent II. and Anacletus II.; the condemnation of the doctrines of Peter Abelard, and of his disciple, Arnold of Brescia, whose opinions concerning the temporal [6] power of the Papacy have been revived with extraordinary energy at the present day, as if the ashes of his body, burnt for his opinions, had been quickened again with life.

"Even in his ashes live their wonted fires."

It would record that at the Third Lateran Council in A.D. 1179, the Church of Rome prohibited the Romish Bishops from doing, what they *now* do not hesitate to do in Italy, namely, from pronouncing a sentence of suspension on their clergy, "*ex informatâ conscientiâ,*" as it is termed, viz. without previous statement of the grounds of the sentence, and without giving an opportunity to the Clerk to defend himself, and without a judicial hearing of the cause. It would commemorate the condemnation, at the fourth Council, held here in A.D. 1215, of the tenets of the Albigenses and Waldenses; and the proclamation of "a crusade or holy war, for their extermination;" and a promise of indulgences to all who engaged in that war; and it would recall to our memories the consequences of this and like decrees, extending over many generations, and deluging the villages of Piedmont with blood, and perhaps bringing back at this day, with something like divine retribution

[6] An account of which may be seen in Gibbon's Hist. chap. lxix.

upon Rome, severe chastisements from that same country, Piedmont, which was the victim of her rage, and from that very House, the House of Savoy, which was excited by the Papacy to exterminate its own subjects on account of their religion.

Such a history also would relate the condemnation here, at the Fourth Lateran Council, in A.D. 1215, of the Abbot Joachim of Calabria, who was celebrated in that age for his expositions of the Apocalypse, which are still extant, and are deeply interesting at this time, in reference to the destiny of Rome. It would chronicle the abolition of the *Pragmatic Sanction* by the Council held here under Pope Leo X. in 1512, and the substitution of a *Concordat*, between the Pope, Leo X., and Francis I., the King of France, and the condemnation of the anti-papal decrees of the Council of Bâle,—measures which were very injurious to the religious freedom of France, and are exerting their baneful influence at this day.

These, and other historical associations, impart especial interest to this noble Basilica of S. John Lateran, and may well give rise to many serious reflections and stirring emotions at this time.

Visited the "Scala Santa," or Sacred Stairs, at the N.E. of the Lateran. You are required by the Church of Rome to believe that these stairs once belonged to Pilate's house at Jerusalem, and that our blessed Lord ascended them on the morning of the crucifixion. I read the inscriptions there, in which she announces that any one, who is penitent, and will ascend the stairs on his knees, may thus obtain I know not how many days or years of indulgence.

These indulgences were granted by Pope Paschalis II. in A.D. 1100, and were confirmed by Pope Pius VII. in the present century, A.D. 1817.

Another fable meets you on the other side of the Piazza, at the Baptistery, where you are assured by another inscription that the Emperor Constantine was baptized here by Pope Sylvester. This story is, I believe, abandoned by respectable Roman Catholic historians,[7] but the misfortune is

[7] On the authority of Euseb. Vit. Constantin. iv. 61, 62.

that it still holds its ground at Rome on these public monuments of the Church.

A great benefit would be conferred on Church history, and on the cause of Religion, and on the Church of Rome herself, if the "Congregation of the Holy Office of the Inquisition" at Rome, and the "Congregation of the Index" could be induced to apply to those inscriptions some of the industry and zeal which they now expend in proscribing such books as are written against the Pope's temporal power, and which advocate a return to primitive Catholic Antiquity; and if they would apply their talents and time to the compilation of an "Index expurgatorius" of the falsehoods which now disfigure the columns, the churches, and even the altars of Rome, and which might almost make Truth hide her face, and say, "Quid Romæ faciam? mentiri nescio."[8]

In the Baptistery of S. John Lateran there is a chapel which, as the sacristan informed us, ladies may not enter, on account of the great number of relics of saints under the altar; and then he enumerated them, some pieces of the cross, &c., &c., adding, they are never exhibited, "non s'espongono mai."

Went from the Baptistery to the Lateran Museum. The formation of this Museum of Christian Antiquities and Christian Art is due to Pope Pius IX.; it is one of the most interesting collections in the world. However we may regret that the Catacombs have been rifled of their contents, and despoiled of their sarcophagi, frescoes, and inscriptions, yet we may find some consolation in seeing them preserved and displayed here, and in the Vatican Museum.

Here you may refresh your eyes and mind with the genuine ancient delineations of the Miracles of the Old and New Testaments, especially those connected with the divine work of feeding and invigorating the faithful in their pilgrimage through the wilderness of this world, represented by the striking of the Rock in the desert, and "that Rock was Christ;"[9] the miraculous feedings in the desert by our

[8] *Juvenal*, iii. 41.

[9] 1 Cor. x. 4.

blessed Lord, "the Good Shepherd;"[1] a figure often repeated; the encouragements in suffering and Death, and the glad hopes of deliverance and Resurrection to glory, suggested by pictures of Elijah mounting to heaven, the Three Children delivered from the furnace, Daniel rescued from the den of lions, Jonah cast into the sea, swallowed by the whale, and emerging from the deep, and the raising of Lazarus. These, and similar remains of ancient Christian Art, are like eloquent Homilies and Sermons, preached in the ears of the world by the voice of the primitive Church,—the Church of ancient Saints and Martyrs,—speaking from the graves of the Catacombs.

Another object which holds a conspicuous place in this Museum, and commands peculiar attention, is a statue at the end of the gallery—the statue of S. Hippolytus.

S. Hippolytus was a scholar of S. Irenæus, and was Bishop of Portus, the maritime city and port,—whence its name,—at the northern mouth of the Tiber, about fifteen miles from Rome, where is still standing the tower of a Church bearing the name of S. Hippolytus.

S. Hippolytus occupied the Episcopal see of Portus in the earlier part of the third century, and was a suffragan of the Church of Rome, and died a martyr for the faith.[2] Several of his works, written in the Greek language, are still extant, and he has ever been recognized by Christendom as one of the most learned and eloquent writers of the Western Church.

Two important discoveries have been made, in later times, which shed much light on his history.

The first discovery was that of this *statue*, which was found in the year 1551 by workmen who were making excavations in an ancient Cemetery, near the Church of S. Lorenzo, outside the walls of Rome, on the eastern side of the city, bordering on the Via Tiburtina, or road which leads to Tivoli.

It is a marble figure clothed in a pallium, seated in a chair, and is probably the oldest *Christian* statue in existence.

[1] John x. 11.

[2] See *Prudentius*, Peri Stephanôn, xi. 152.

The two sides and back of the chair are covered with Greek inscriptions, which serve to prove that the statue is a figure of S. Hippolytus.

This statue of S. Hippolytus, which was found in a mutilated condition when it was dug up, was repaired by order of Pope Pius IV., and was placed by him in the Vatican,[3] from which it has been transferred to this Museum by Pius IX.

The second discovery was a still more interesting one. It was due to the Government of Louis Philippe, which encouraged the literary enterprise of those who, in their successful researches among the treasures of Mount Athos, discovered a lost treatise of S. Hippolytus, which has revealed, for the first time, a portion of the early history of the Church of Rome. That document has shown, that the present Romish dogmas of Papal Infallibility and Supremacy were unknown in the earlier ages of the Church of Rome.

Rome herself recognizes Hippolytus as a Saint; but Hippolytus did not recognize the Bishop of Rome as possessing spiritual authority over the other Bishops of the Church.

He himself informs us that he resisted two Bishops of Rome, Zephyrinus and Callistus, because they taught what was heretical; yet he remained in the See of Portus, a suffragan of the See of Rome, till his death, and he is now revered as a Saint and a Martyr, in the Breviary of the Church of Rome (for August 22).

May we not even say, that S. Hippolytus was reverenced by the *primitive* Church of Rome, *because* he *resisted* two of her Bishops when they gainsaid the Truth, and because he rescued her by his courage, piety, and learning, from the heresy which was patronized by them?[4] While we contemplate this statue of the holy Bishop and Martyr, calmly sitting in this noble repository of early Christian Art, may we not offer a prayer that the Church of Rome of the present

[3] An engraving of it may be seen in the works of S. Hippolytus, by Fabricius, Hamburg, 1716, and in Cardinal Mai's Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio, Rome, 1825, of which it is the frontispiece.

[4] May I be permitted to refer here to my work "On St. Hippolytus and the Church of Rome in the third century?"

day may imitate her former self; that she may not anathematize all who resist the extravagant claims and unrighteous usurpations of her Popes, but may listen to the voice of Truth, and bless those who utter it?

May we not say that S. Hippolytus himself, who contended for the True Faith against two Popes in succession, and who was one of the most eloquent Fathers of the Western Church, now sitting here in the calm and peaceful atmosphere of primitive Christianity, and in the neighbourhood of the Church of S. John Lateran, where so many Councils were held, preaches here a Sermon to the Church of Rome, and to the present age, on those great questions which are now agitated in Europe, and the world? May his teaching and example be blessed in these troubled times, and promote the cause of Truth, the peace of Nations, and the glory of God.

Walked from S. John Lateran by the Via S. Stefano Rotondo,—a beautiful road skirted by the remains of the old Claudian Aqueduct, interspersed with gardens of oleanders and pomegranates with scarlet flowers, and bright green glossy leaves, hanging over the richly tinted brick arches of the Aqueduct. My former visit to Rome was in the winter; and our present sojourn here in the summer has forcibly impressed me with the feeling that much of the beauty of Rome is lost by those who see it only in the dead and dreary season of the year. We came down on the picturesque old Church of S. Giovanni and S. Paolo, and, after that on the Church and Convent of S. Gregorio, so interesting to Englishmen, and which has been so happily described in Burgon's interesting Letters from Rome.[5]

Thence we proceeded along the Via de' Cerchi, having the Palatine on our right, and the site of the Circus Maximus on our left; passed the little circular Temple of Vesta, the Arch of Janus, and the Church of S. Giorgio in Velabro. Turning to the right, we came suddenly on a clear stream of water, gushing down from high rocks, overgrown with ferns and moss, moist with drops like dew; close to it is a Sewer,

[5] Dean Burgon's Letters, xxi. pp. 262–266.

constructed of massive stones, in which a stream of turbid water flows from beneath an arch, mingles with the pure element of the fountain, and runs onward toward the Tiber. Some Roman women were standing near the clear pool, on fragments of carved marble slabs and blocks, washing their linen. This Sewer is the famous Cloaca Maxima, dating from the age of Tarquinius Priscus, the fifth King of Rome, and is 2500 years old. The women told us, that the clear spring was called Acqua Argentina, from its bright silver hue. A person here informed us that he had come to drink it on account of its salubrious properties. There was a stall with lemons upon it, ready cut for making lemonade from the fresh water gushing from the rock. Altogether, it was a very picturesque scene. The clear bright water from the natural spring, contrasted with the muddy torrent flowing into it, was an expressive emblem of Rome herself; especially in her religious system, where the pure element of Divine Truth is mingled with human traditions which blend themselves with it, and sully it with their turbid stream.

Thursday, June 19th.—Among the pleasant sights of these early summer mornings in Rome, are the picturesque groups of white goats, reposing at the sides of the streets, and tended by goatherds in their country costumes,—high black conical hats, and blue velvet jackets, grey stockings, and bright neckcloths,—who have driven these flocks many miles from the Campagna into the city, in order to supply fresh milk to the inhabitants.

To-day is the great festival of the *Corpus Domini;* at an early hour all the world was setting out toward St. Peter's. The piazza in front of the Church was occupied by French troops. But in consequence of a shower of rain, the Pope resolved that the procession should not make the circuit of the piazza, and the troops were drawn off.

The history of the institution of this festival is very significant. In the thirteenth century (A.D. 1262), a time of moral corruption and ungodliness, as Roman writers testify, a Priest, who did not believe the doctrine of Transubstantiation, was celebrating mass at Bolsena, in Tuscany, and saw the host trickle with blood; which is the subject of one

of Raffaelle's frescoes in the Vatican, in the stanza of Heliodorus. Pope Urban IV. heard the tidings of the prodigy, and went to Bolsena, and gave orders that the corporal tinged with blood should be carried in procession to the cathedral of Orvieto, where it is still shown. In the year 1230 a holy woman near Liège, a Cistercian nun, Santa Giuliana, had a vision, in which she beheld the Moon, which, although full, seemed to have a portion of it broken off; and when she asked what was the meaning of this fragmentary appearance, she was informed that the Moon represented the Church, and the gap in it denoted the absence of a great solemnity which was necessary to complete its fulness; and that this solemnity was the festival of *Corpus Domini*. It was revealed as the divine will that a certain day in every year should be set apart for the veneration of the Holy Sacrament. The Bishop of Liège adopted the suggestion; and it was confirmed by the Apostolic Legate in Belgium. Pope Urban IV., being stimulated by what had occurred in Bolsena, and desirous of providing a perpetual protest against the doctrines of Berengarius, which were then rife, carried the matter further, and decreed that the festival of the "*Corpus Domini*" should be celebrated every year, on the Thursday after the octave of Whitsunday, and he gave a commission to the celebrated Thomas Aquinas (the "doctor angelicus"), then at Rome, to compose a suitable religious office for the occasion. It is said that Bonaventura attempted the task, but abandoned it as soon as he had seen the office which was composed by Thomas Aquinas.

The annual observance of the Festival has received additional sanction from the Council of Trent, in 1551.[6]

The circumstances of the procession have differed at different times; formerly the "*Corpus Domini*" was carried by Popes through the streets; sometimes the ceremony took place at the Church of S. John Lateran, and the host was carried thence to S. Clement's Church. But since the completion of St. Peter's Church by Paul V., who came to

[6] Sess. xiii. cap. 5.

the Popedom in 1605, it has been associated with this Church.

The *talamo* (thalamus), or portable stage, on which the Pope is placed aloft, and carried in an attitude of adoring the host, and on which he is usually borne, from his Palace in the Vatican, in a long procession under the colonnade—hung with rich arras, and strewn with sprigs of box and flowers,—and so makes the tour of the piazza and enters the Church, dates from the age of Pope Alexander VII., A.D. 1655, and is represented on his coins.

To-day at an early hour in the morning the Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops, and the members of the religious Orders of Rome, who were to take part in the procession, assembled at the Vatican; and the Mass was commenced by the Pope in the Sistine Chapel. After the Mass, the Pope ascended the *talamo*, and the procession was formed. The Regular Orders took the lead, each of the members bearing a lighted torch in his hand. They walked in the following order:—

1. The Franciscans.
2. The barefooted Augustinians.
3. The Capuchins.
4. The Girolamites.
5. The Minims of S. Francesco di Paola.
6. The Franciscans of the third order.
7. The Conventual Minorites.
8. The Reformed Minorites.
9. The "Minori Osservanti."
10. The Augustinians.
11. The Carmelites.
12. The "Servi di Maria."
13. The Dominicans.

No Jesuits were there. *That* order seems to take a pride in setting itself apart from the rest.

Then came the following Monastic Orders:—

1. The Olivetans.
2. The Cistercians.
3. The Camaldolites.

4 The Monks of the order of Monte Cassino.

5. The Lateran Canons of S. Salvatore.

Then came the Students of the "Seminario Romano," followed by the *Secular* Clergy of Rome, viz.:—

1. The fifty-four Parochial Incumbents of Rome.

2. The Canons and "Beneficiati" of the Collegiate Churches of Rome.

3. The Chapters of the four lesser Basilicas of Rome.

4. The Chapters of the three greater or Patriarchal Basilicas of Rome; that is, of S. Maria Maggiore, St. Peter's, and, lastly, of S. John Lateran.

Each of the Basilicas has its own insignia, which consists of a large *Padiglione* or Pavilion, like a huge umbrella, with bells, and of large massive Crosses, some of which were very magnificent.

Then came the members of the Papal Chapel, and other officers of the Pope, among whom were the "Camerieri Segreti," who bore the *triregni*, tiaras, or triple crowns of the Pope; there were four of these tiaras; then the Penitentiaries of the Vatican; then the mitred Abbots, and then the Bishops and Archbishops, of whom there were about a hundred, in their dresses of white and gold, with white mitres; then the Cardinals,—Antonelli was among them as a Cardinal Deacon;—then the Papal Guard, then the Conservators and Governor of Rome.

Last of all, in the distance, were seen the fans of white peacock's feathers in the air, and between them the Pope, carried aloft on men's shoulders under a splendid baldacchino, in the attitude of adoration of the Host, which is set in a magnificent *ostensorio* of gold and jewels, fixed before him.

The baldacchino is supported successively by the pupils of the different colleges of Rome, the German, the Urban, the English, and the Irish.

The procession passed onward, singing the celebrated Hymn[7] (in tetrameter trochaic metre) of Thomas Aquinas,—

[7] Which may be seen in *Daniel's* Thesaurus Hymnologicus, i. p. 251; the other Hymns here mentioned may also be found there; see pp. 63, 196, 252, 254; ii. 97.

"Pange lingua gloriosi corporis mysterium,
Sanguinisque pretiosi, quem in Mundi pretium
Fructus ventris generosi rex effudit Gentium.

Nobis datus, nobis natus ex intacta Virgine,
Et in mundo conversatus, sparso verbi semine,
Sui moras incolatûs miro clausit ordine.

In supremæ nocte cœnæ recumbens cum fratribus,
Observata lege plene cibis in legalibus,
Cibum turbæ duodenæ Se dat suis manibus.

Verbum caro panem verum Verbo carnem efficit,
Fitque Sanguis Christi merum, et, si sensus deficit,
Ad firmandum cor sincerum sola fides sufficit.

Tantum ergo Sacramentum veneremur cernui;
Et antiquum documentum novo cedat ritui:
Præstet fides supplementum sensuum defectui.

Genitori, Genitoque, laus, et jubilatio,
Salus, honor, virtus quoque sit, et benedictio:
Procedenti ab utroque compar sit laudatio. Amen."

And another also by S. Thomas Aquinas,[8]—

"Sacris solemniis juncta sint gaudia,
Et ex præcordiis sonent præconia," &c. &c.

And another by the same Author,—

"Verbum supernum prodiens,
Nec Patris linquens dexteram,
Ad opus suum exiens,
Venit ad vitæ vesperam," &c. &c.

And that ascribed by some to S. Ambrose,—

"Salutis humanæ Sator,
Jesu voluptas cordium,
Orbis redempti Conditor,
Et casta lux amantium.

Qua victus es clementia,
Ut nostra ferres crimina,
Mortem subires innocens,
A morte nos ut tolleres?

[8] See *Daniel*, Thes. Hymn. i. 252.

Perrumpis infernum chaos;
Vinctis catenas detrahis;
Victor triumpho nobili
Ad dexteram Patris sedes.

Te cogat indulgentia,
Ut damna nostra sarcias,
Tuique vultus compotes
Dites beato limine.

Tu dux ad astra, et semita,
Sis meta nostris cordibus,
Sis lacrymarum gaudium,
Sis dulce vitæ præmium. Amen."

And another also ascribed by some to the same writer,—

"Æterne Rex altissime,
Redemptor et fidelium,
Cui mors perempta detulit
Summæ triumphum gloriæ:

Ascendis orbes siderum,
Quo te vocabat cœlitus
Collata, non humanitus,
Rerum potestas omnium;

Ut trina rerum machina,
Cœlestium, terrestrium,
Et inferorum condita,
Flectat genu jam subdita.

Tremunt videntes Angeli
Versam vicem mortalium:
Peccat caro, mundat caro,
Regnat Deus Dei caro.

Sis Ipse nostrum gaudium,
Manens olympo præmium,
Mundi regis qui fabricam,
Mundana vincens gaudia.

Hinc Te precantes quæsumus,
Ignosce culpis omnibus,
Et corda sursum subleva
Ad Te superna gratia.

Ut cum repente cœperis
Clarere nube Judicis,

Pœnas repellas debitas,
Reddas coronas perditas.

Jesu tibi sit gloria,
Qui natus es de Virgine,
Cum Patre, et almo Spiritu
In sempiterna sæcula. Amen."

And that also by Thomas Aquinas,—

"Lauda Sion Salvatorem, lauda Ducem et Pastorem, in hymnis et canticis.
Quantum potes, tantum aude, quia major omni laude, nec laudare sufficis.
Laudis thema specialis, panis vivus et vitalis, hodie proponitur;
Quem in sacræ mensa cœnæ, turbæ fratrum duodenæ datum non ambigitur.
Sit laus plena, sit sonora, sit jucunda, sit decora mentis jubilatio;
Dies enim solemnis agitur, in qua mensæ prima recolitur hujus institutio.
In hac mensa novi Regis novum Pascha novæ legis Phase vetus terminat;
Vetustatem novitas, umbram fugat veritas, noctem lux eliminat.
Quod in cœna Christus gessit, faciendum hoc expressit in sui memoriam.
Docti sacris institutis, panem, vinum in salutis consecramus hostiam.
Dogma datur Christianis, quod in carnem transit panis, et vinum in sanguinem;
Quod non capis, quod non vides, animosa firmat fides, præter rerum ordinem.
Sub diversis speciebus, signis tantum, et non rebus, latent res eximiæ;
Caro cibus, sanguis potus; manet tamen Christus totus sub utraque specie;
A sumente non concisus, non confractus, non divisus, integer accipitur.
Sumit unus, sumunt mille; quantum isti tantum ille; nec sumptus consumitur;
Sumunt boni, sumunt mali, sorte tamen inæquali, vitæ, vel interitûs;
Mors est malis, vita bonis: vide paris sumptionis quam sit dispar exitus!
Fracto demum Sacramento, ne vacilles, sed memento, tantum esse sub fragmento, quantum toto tegitur;
Nulla rei fit scissura; signi tantum fit fractura: qua nec status, nec statura signati minuitur.
Ecce Panis Angelorum, factus cibus viatorum; vere panis filiorum, non mittendus canibus.
In figuris præsignatur, cum Isaac immolatur; Agnus Paschæ deputatur; datur manna patribus.
Bone pastor, panis vere, Jesu nostri miserere: tu nos pasce, nos tuere, tu nos bona fac videre in terra viventium.
Tu, qui cuncta scis, et vales, qui nos pascis hic mortales, tuos ibi commensales, cohæredes et sodales fac sanctorum civium. Amen."

These Hymns are followed by several Psalms, the 19th, 28th, 29th, 32nd, 65th, 83rd, 102nd, 144th.

When the Pope entered the Church, a loud flourish of military music burst forth, which was not in harmony with the ceremonial. Then followed the "Te Deum," and the Pope was carried up toward the Altar, and descended from the *talamo,* and placed the host upon the altar, and held it up to the multitude, who bowed in adoration before it.

Such was the ceremonial of the *Corpus Domini.*

It displayed in a striking manner the spiritual power of Rome. The Pope might be compared to a General at the head of his troops. He passed as it were in review his vast ecclesiastical army of regular and secular clergy, all united in one great religious act, with sound of music, and colours flying, all ready for the battle.

The act, in which the Pope, Cardinals, Bishops, and Clergy, regular and secular, of Rome were engaged, was one which brings out, in the strongest manner, the dogma of the carnal presence of Our Blessed Lord in the Holy Eucharist, the dogma of Transubstantiation. And yet it sets at defiance the words of the Saviour Himself, who instituted the Lord's Supper, and whom it professes to revere. Why is the Sacrament to be broken, as it were, into two? Why is the Eucharistic *Bread* to be chosen as an object of veneration, and why is no homage to be paid to the Eucharistic *Cup?* If adoration is due to the one, why not to the other? And why was it required that all this vast multitude should bow their heads before the consecrated wafer, and yet not one of these assembled thousands was invited or permitted to comply with our Lord's command, "*Take, eat;*" "*Drink ye all* of this?" Why were the people *ordered* to *adore,* and not one of them *permitted* to *communicate?* And yet the Pope is to be acknowledged by the whole human race to be the Supreme Head of the Church, and the Representative and Vicar of Jesus Christ.

If, also, the crowd, which assembled here on this day, believed—if the Pope and Cardinals and Bishops believed —that Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and Very God, was there bodily present in that wafer, how is it to be

explained that the people could venture,—and were permitted by the Vicar of Christ, and by the Cardinals and Bishops who passed in procession among them,—to gaze and to talk so familiarly as they did, and to behave with as little reverence as if they had been at a theatre?

All the Hymns and Psalms used on this occasion (as in all the religious services of the Roman Church at Rome) were in Latin. Few, if any, of the vast multitude of the people assembled did, or could join in them, or understand them. By retaining the Latin language in her services,—now that Latin has ceased to be a living tongue,—Rome maintains the dominion of her Clergy above the Laity; and she unites with herself her Bishops and Clergy from all parts of the world, such as are gathered at Rome at this time, in one hierarchical language. She would be doing well, if the worship of God were designed to be ministerial to sacerdotal dignity, and to her own aggrandizement, and not to the Divine glory and to the salvation of souls.

The brilliant splendour of the magnificent equipages of the Cardinals and Bishops, who took part in the ceremony, could not fail to suggest many reflections.

The Piazza dazzled the eye with the gold and scarlet of that magnificent cavalcade, and with the rich colours of their carriages, and the gaudy trappings of their horses, and the embroidered liveries of their servants. Few of the Cardinals were content with one servant behind their carriage, but had two or three tall lacqueys crowded together on the footboard at the back of their splendid vehicles.

If the Pope of Rome and his Hierarchy were resolved to inspire and keep alive a feeling of popular indignation against the temporal power of the Roman See, they could not devise a more effectual mode of doing so, than by this pompous ostentation of sacerdotal pride and pageantry on such an occasion as this, when they profess to meet together for a spiritual purpose,—for the solemn worship of Him, Who "was a Man of Sorrows and acquainted with grief,"[9] and Who "had not where to lay His head,"[1] and Who

[9] Isa. liii. 3.

[1] Matt. viii. 20.

instituted the Holy Sacrament of His blessed Body and Blood on the eve of His bitter Passion.

We went in the evening to the Church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva. Though its architecture is of a heterogeneous kind,—Gothic mixed with Palladian,—and though the stained glass is of a poor style of art, yet they produce more of a religious feeling of solemnity than is usually engendered by Roman Churches; many of which are noble and magnificent buildings, but are deficient in those hallowing and awe-inspiring influences which are the best characteristics of a Christian sanctuary. How brilliant are the ceilings of Santa Maria Maggiore and of S. John Lateran! but are they not more like temples than churches?

The dim religious light of this Church was soothing and tranquillizing after the gaudy spectacle of the morning. The congregation was waiting for a sermon by a Dominican friar. He took for his subject the vision in the bush at Horeb to Moses, "Abscondit Moyses faciem suam, non enim audebat aspicere."[2] The act of adoration, by which Moses showed his reverence for God manifesting Himself in the flame of fire in the bush, was exemplary (he said) to Christians, and taught them a lesson which they greatly need to learn,—what their veneration ought to be for the "augustissimo sagramento dell' Eucaristia," which was commended to their religious meditation on this day. He then proceeded to consider the Holy Eucharist,—

1. As a proof of divine love.
2. As the means of human strength.

He dilated on the evidence shown of Christ's love in the Holy Eucharist, instituted by Him on the eve of His crucifixion, to be the instrument by which His perpetual presence would be vouchsafed to His Church, even till His second Coming; and which therefore is a never-failing source of spiritual strength to the faithful. "Why" (he asked) "were the primitive Christians so eminent in courage and in love? It was because they communicated with

[2] Exod. iii. 6.

Christ daily in the Holy Eucharist. How was it that S. Lawrence was enabled to smile with joy amid the flames? It was because One 'like the Son of God' was with him in the fire. Why should not we be in Christian graces like the first Martyrs? We also may be Martyrs, if we know where our strength lies—in communion with Christ. But you say this is an age of progress, it is an age of light; and that we do not need the spiritual graces by which the Martyrs were enabled to do and suffer what they did. But, brethren, how are we to make real progress, except by following Christ, who is the Way? How are we to be really illuminated, except by coming to Him, who is the Light? True progress and genuine Light cannot be found except in the Catholic Church. Come, therefore, come boldly to her, come hither to us, and feed upon Christ; come, and eat His flesh. How much better, and how much happier would you thus be, than in following the frivolous pleasures and dissipations of the world! If you have Christ with you, you will escape death. How often may we say to Christ in the words of Martha, 'Lord, if Thou hadst been here, my brother had not died!'"

There was one portion of the subject which was not touched upon, viz. the requisite dispositions, of repentance, faith, charity, for the reception of the Holy Eucharist; and the impression left on the hearers might perhaps be that the work would be effected for them, without correspondent efforts on their part; perhaps something of the "opus operatum" showed itself in the discourse: but preachers cannot say everything, and let us therefore be content with what we heard, which seemed to be spoken from the heart.

Vespers followed.

Saturday, June 21*st.*—Went to the Collegio Romano, the College of Jesuits, where we were courteously received by Padre Tongiorgi, the keeper of the Museum. The object which interested me most in that Museum, was the *Graffito,* or rude sketch made by a sharp stilus in the cement of the wall of a chamber at the south-western corner of the Palace of the Cæsars in the Palatine Hill, near the Church of S.

Anastasia in the Orti Nusiner, where it was discovered by workmen making excavations in 1857, under the guidance of Padre Garrucci, and whence it was removed for security to this place. This sketch represents the figure of a man with the head of an ass; the arms are outstretched on a cross, and the feet rest on a transverse piece of wood.

On the right side of this figure, and rather lower than it, is a man raising up his left hand with the fingers extended, and from the inscription on the sketch it is clear that he is intended to be represented in the act of adoration.

The inscription is as follows, but in ruder characters than these :—

ΑΛΕΞΑΜΕΝΟC
CEBETE
ΘΕΟΝ

that is *Alexamenos is adoring God.* The word σέβεται is written σέβετε by a common confusion of αι and ε, which had the same sound in ancient times, as they still have in the mouths of the inhabitants of Greece at this day. The Echo in Callimachus, responding to ναιχί by ἔχει, is well known. I copied yesterday three Christian inscriptions in the Vatican in which κεῖτε stands for κεῖται, and αἰτῶν for ἐτῶν, and αἴσισεν for ἔζησεν. Compare above, pp. 144, 145.

This sketch and inscription are evidently from the hand of a heathen in primitive times, who had access to the Palace of the Cæsars at Rome, perhaps was an inmate of it, and reviled the religion of Christ. Alexamenos, no doubt, was one of his comrades, a Christian, and is here held up to derision for his faith in Christ crucified.

I was informed by Padre Tongiorgi that the word *pædagogium* was found inscribed in the chamber of the Palace of the Cæsars where this sketch was discovered. Perhaps therefore, it was a caricature drawn by one of the slaves who had the charge of the younger members of "Cæsar's household," and who designed it as a sneer on one of his fellow-slaves.

The *Christians* who dwelt at Rome in Apostolic times, were confounded in the popular mind with the *Jews*. The

scoffs of the multitude against the Jews were readily applied to the Christians. The Roman historian, Tacitus, asserts that the Hebrews in their Exodus from Egypt were led to springs of water by a herd of wild *asses*, and that, on this account, they paid religious honours to that animal.[3] As Tertullian[4] observes, "Somniâstis caput *asininum Deum* nostrum esse; hanc Cornelius Tacitus suspicionem fecit." The heathens eagerly seized the notion, and converted it into a calumny against the *Christians*, and profanely asserted "caput asininum *Deum* esse"[5] to the Christian; and Tertullian[6] makes mention of a satirical *picture*, painted in his own day, with an inscription, "*Deus* Christianorum Onokoites?"[7]

This *Graffito* from the Palace of the Cæsars at Rome exhibits in a striking manner the contumelies to which the Gospel of Christ was exposed in early times, in the Roman Court and Capital.

The Christians were charged with adoring a man who had died on the cross. They did not deny the fact: "We preach Jesus Christ, and *Him crucified*."[8] "God forbid that I should glory, save in the *Cross* of Christ,"[9] wrote St. Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles; although that Cross was to the "Jews a stumbling-block, and to the Greeks foolishness."[1]

This *graffito* from the Palatine is, I believe, the *earliest* representation that is known to exist of the *Crucifixion*.[2] Strange it is, that it should be a caricature, and that the

[3] *Tacitus*, Hist. v. 3.

[4] *Tertullian* ad Nation. i. c. 11. Apol. c. xvi.

[5] The same thing is asserted by the heathen Cæcilius, in the dialogue of *Minucius Felix*, c. ix., "audio eos turpissimæ pecudis caput asini consecratum venerari." See ibid. c. xxviii.

[6] *Tertullian*, Apol. c. xvi.

[7] Is it possible, that the act of our Lord in choosing *an ass* on which to ride in triumph to Jerusalem, and to receive the homage of the multitude, could have been abused into an occasion for giving more currency to that ribaldry?

[8] 1 Cor. ii. 2.

[9] Gal. vi. 14.

[1] 2 Cor. i. 23. Gal. v. 11.

[2] I was assured of this by the Cavaliere G. B. De Rossi, who is one of the best living authorities on all that concerns the history of early Christian Art at Rome.

caricaturist should bear witness to the insults which the Gospel endured and overcame: and that the Cross of Christ, which was the laughing-stock of Rome and of the world, should, in a few years after this sketch was drawn, have dislodged the Roman Eagle from her Imperial standards, and have floated on the banners of her armies, and have been set on the diadems of her Kings.

Strange also it is, that the hand of a caricaturist should bear witness to the truth, that the primitive disciples not only confessed that Christ had suffered *death* as *man* upon the *cross*, but should also attest the fact that they *worshipped* Him as *God*.

There is reason to believe that the Apostle St. Paul, in his first imprisonment at Rome, which is described at the close of the Acts of the Apostles, dwelt in the neighbourhood of the Palace of the Cæsars.[3] In one of his Epistles written at that time from Rome, the Epistle to the Christians of Philippi,—which had then been recently colonized by Rome,—he says that his "bonds were manifest *in all the Palace*;"[4] and he sends special greetings in that Epistle from "those of *Cæsar's household*."[5] May we not suppose that Alexamenos the Christian, who is ridiculed in this caricature, for worshipping the crucified Saviour as God, may, either directly or derivatively,[6] have been brought to the knowledge and faith of Christ, by the teaching of St. Paul? How affecting are the Apostle's words in that Epistle, when placed by the side of this caricature! "Let[7] this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus, Who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God; but made Himself of no reputation, and took upon Him the form of a *servant*, and was made in the likeness of men, and being found in fashion as a Man, He humbled Himself, and be-

[3] See on Philippians i. 13.

[4] Phil. i. 13. [5] Phil. iv. 22.

[6] If Padre Garrucci's reasonings are correct concerning the age of the bricks of which the chamber was built, where this graffito was found, it is not earlier than the age of Adrian: see Garrucci's brochure, "Il Crocifisso Graffito in Casa dei Cesari," Roma, 1857.

[7] Phil. ii. 5.

came obedient unto death, even unto the death of the *Cross*. Wherefore God hath highly exalted Him, and given Him a Name which is above every name, that at the Name of JESUS every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth; and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father."

Went in the afternoon of June 21, to the Church and Convent of S. Carlo ai Catinari, which stands to the north-west of the Ghetto: I had an interview there with one of the most learned men of Rome, the celebrated Barnabite Father, Carlo Vercellone. Passed through a long corridor, hung with dark portraits of members of the order, and found him in his cell, which was well stocked with folios.

The literary world is much indebted to him for the edition of the Vatican Manuscript of the Septuagint, and New Testament, which had been prepared for publication by Cardinal Mai. Padre Vercellone has published a Dissertation on the Vatican Manuscript, and on Mai's edition of it, Rome, 1860; in which he bears a high and honourable testimony to the learning and labours of the late Cardinal.

At p. 14 of that Dissertation are some remarks on the singular fact, that before the appearance of Mai's work, the Church of Rome had never given to the world an edition of the Greek Testament in the city of Rome itself. The learned author of the Dissertation frankly avows his regret that this was so; because, he says, "if Rome had published a New Testament in Greek, that edition must have been the standard edition." But may not a question be asked here? Is it probable that now, when Rome has at length printed a Greek Testament, that edition will be adopted as the model text? Will the Roman edition of Cardinal Mai be the standard edition? No, assuredly not; the learned Author of the Dissertation owns its imperfections (p. 16). And if the Church of Rome can give to the world standard editions of the Bible, how is it that she has never yet published an edition of the original Hebrew of the Old Testament?

He modestly declined any credit for his own work in the publication of the Greek Testament, and said that all that

had been done was due to the influence and labour of the Cardinal. "Mai had made the 'primo passo;' and now no impediment would be raised at Rome to the publication of a correct edition, or even of a fac-simile, of this celebrated Manuscript, which was almost inaccessible to our forefathers."

Let me add here, that I was assured by the enterprising publisher of Mai's edition, M. Spithöver, that, when the times became more quiet (would that there was a fair prospect of this!) he hoped to be able to publish the Vatican Manuscript in the same manner as the Codex Alexandrinus and Codex Bezæ have been printed in England.

Padre Vercellone is also the editor of two editions of the Vulgate: one is already completed, and consists of the text alone, in a revised form; the other is in course of publication, with critical notes and collations of MSS. He handed me the first volume, which was on his shelves; and I turned to his note on the celebrated text, Gen. iii. 15, and observed that he there candidly avows, that the true reading of the text is not "Ips*a* conteret caput tuum;" and therefore that text cannot be applied to the Blessed Virgin, but refers to the seed of the woman, which is Christ.[8]

When I expressed my gratification at seeing this frank acknowledgment, which the reader may find in his notes now published, he replied, "We build nothing on that text," "Noi non edifichiamo nulla sopra quel testo."

I am sure that the learned men of Rome, such as Padre Vercellone, do not venture to build anything on that text, for the exaltation of the Blessed Virgin. But the question is, Does not the Church of Rome, in her appeals to her people, build a great deal upon it? Does she not allow and encourage her Preachers to do so? In fact, is not *that text* the principal passage of Holy Scripture to which the Pope

[8] The same truth is ingenuously avowed by one of the most learned men of the Church of Rome in the present day, Monsignor Emilio Tiboni, of Brescia, in his excellent work, Il Misticismo Biblico, p. 570, Milano, 1853, where he says, "Il senso era la promessa della vittoria che sopra il demonio avrebbe portato il *Messia*." Unhappily for the cause of sound learning, Monsignor Tiboni has been deprived of his professorship in the seminary at Brescia.

himself referred in his famous decree, in which he promulgated the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin in St. Peter's Church on Dec. 8, 1854?[9] and is not the Blessed Virgin "of the Immaculate Conception" represented in pictures and statues by the Church of Rome as treading under *her* feet the head of the Serpent? Is she not so represented in the engraving prefixed as a frontispiece to Passaglia's elaborate work, printed at the Propaganda at Rome, on behalf of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception? Does not therefore the Church of Rome build a great deal on that text? And since her learned men candidly avow that the text refers to Christ, and not to the Virgin, does she not, in this respect, as in many others, build her own and her people's faith on an insecure foundation? Does she not build her house on the sand? And if so,—"great will be the fall thereof."[1]

He said that we Englishmen were unjust to the Church of Rome in complaining that she paid so much respect to the Vulgate. "The Church of Rome," said he, "is a Latin Church, and the Vulgate is her Version."

I replied that the Church of Rome in the fourth Session of the Council of Trent, had made the Vulgate to be the standard of Holy Scripture for all other Churches who never spoke the Latin language. And though it is true, that the Latin Vulgate was at first the *Version* of Holy Scripture for the Roman people, yet now that the Roman people have long since ceased to speak Latin, the Vulgate can hardly be called a translation for them. We in England might as well call the Anglo-Saxon Bible our translation. The Scriptures were not written in Latin, but in Hebrew and Greek: Latin was the mother tongue of those who composed the Vulgate: the Vulgate itself was a translation into their mother tongue; and it was made by them, in

[9] In which are the following words: "Sanctissima *Virgo* per Illum (i.e. Christum) venenatum caput serpentis *immaculato* pede contrivit;" and thence he proceeds to say that *she* has trodden under foot all heresy, which is a head of the serpent; "cunctas semper interemit hæreses."

[1] Matt. vii. 27.

order that the people might understand the Scriptures, which were written in Hebrew and Greek, which they could not understand. Therefore the Romish Latin Vulgate is itself an argument for the use of the mother tongue of the people in the public worship of God; and it is a strong argument against the Church of Rome, which clings to the Latin, now that Latin has ceased to be a living tongue; and it shows the wisdom of our English Reformers, who abandoned Latin in public worship and in reading the Scriptures, and adopted English in its place. A blessed thing would it be for Italy, if the Church of Rome would act in a similar way.

He changed his ground, and commenced a vehement attack upon us. "You have no explicit Faith."

I assured him, that "we receive all that is revealed in Holy Scripture, and all that had been deduced from Scripture by the Ancient Catholic Church, and all that was confessed by her in the three Creeds."

"But that is not enough; our Lord is ever with His Church, and she now has the same power as she had in the primitive ages."

"Yes, but not of inventing anything new; not of adding any new article to the faith 'once for all delivered to the Saints.'"

"No: but she may declare what all are to believe; and all must receive her declarations as true."

"But the Church of Rome adds new articles to the ancient Faith. The Pope, in February, 1849, and again in August, 1854, by desiring all Roman Catholic Bishops to pray that he might be enlightened as to his future decision concerning the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, and by proceeding in December, 1854, to decree that the doctrine was thenceforth to be believed by all, virtually owned that it had not been professed as an Article of Faith by the Church for eighteen centuries; and the Pope added that doctrine, as a new article of Faith, in the nineteenth century after Christ. And is it not the usual language of the Papacy and Church of Rome, that in their present troubles they place their hopes especially on the intercessions of the

Blessed Virgin, because the Pope has recently added new lustre to her crown, and placed a new aureola on her brow by the dogmatic decree of the Immaculate Conception?"[2]

"Well, but how," he asked, "do you obtain any definitions of Faith?"

"We have them from Christ Himself speaking to us in Holy Scripture interpreted by the ancient Church Universal. Whatever doctrine can be shown to us in Scripture, and to have been believed and professed by the Ancient Church universal, *that* we believe: whatever is not in Scripture, and was unknown to the ancient Church universal, *that* we reject as new; and in what concerns the doctrines of Christianity, whatever is *new*, is *false*."

"But the Church needs a living Interpreter of the Faith. In cases of controversy where is *your* Judge? Where is your living interpreter of the Truth? Is not the Queen of England the Head of your Church?"

"No; the Kings and Queens of England do not bear that title."[3]

"But are not they judges of Articles of Faith?"

"No; they are not Judges of the laws of the Church; much less above the laws of the Church, or against them; and they can only pronounce sentence by means of their Ecclesiastical Judges, according to the received Laws of the Church of England, which are the Laws of Christ in Holy Scripture, as interpreted by the consent and usage of the ancient Catholic Church. Our Sovereigns possess no more right over the Church than was claimed by ancient Christian Emperors; they cannot perform any sacred function, but they are bound to take care that those functions are duly discharged by those persons whose office it is to perform them."

[2] See, for example, the language quoted in the "Civiltà Cattolica," 3rd May, 1862, p. 353.

[3] It is well known that the title "Head of the Church" was laid aside by Queen Elizabeth; she was not entitled Head of the Church, but "Supreme Governor over all persons in all causes," and the limited sense in which that title is borne, is explained in Art. XXXVII. of the Church of England.

"But how can your spiritual persons perform those functions? They have no claim to succession from lawful Bishops of the Church."

"Yes, they have; and their succession has been acknowledged even by Roman Catholic Divines."[4]

"But they can have no lawful authority except by union with the See of St. Peter."

"How can this be shown? Even if we suppose that the Pope is the successor of St. Peter (which has not been proved), then we know from the Holy Spirit in Holy Scripture, that St. Peter himself was 'resisted to the face by St. Paul,[5] because he was to be blamed;' and if the successor of St. Peter separates himself from Christ, by 'teaching for doctrines commandments of men,'[6] and will not communicate with any who do not join with him in his errors, then we know that, if we avoid those errors and cleave to the true faith, we shall be favoured by Christ, as the man in the Gospel was, who was excommunicated by the Jews[7] because he professed Christ; and if we are in communion with Christ, we hold to the Head of the Church, and are members of His body which is the blessed company of all faithful people."

He bore testimony to the learning of English Divines. "But," said he, "learning will not avail, without the aid of the Holy Spirit: and you cannot have that, except by communion with the Catholic Church" (i. e. the Church of Rome). "Your gifts and graces are marred by your schism. Return to the bosom of your Mother, who opens her arms to embrace you."

The preceding conversation confirmed me in a conviction, that the Church of Rome is eagerly on the alert to avail herself of any heretical tenets that may be put forth by

[4] It would be disingenuous to deny that considerable amendments are needed in the processes by which the Laws of the Church of England are now administered in causes Ecclesiastical; and it is much to be desired that judicious measures might be adopted for the better cognizance of such matters. The circumstances of the present times call loudly for them.

[5] Gal. ii. 11. [6] Matt. xv. 9.

[7] John ix. 34.

members of the English Church, and to use them as weapons against her; and as instruments for alluring persons from the English Communion to herself.

The objections, which have recently been made against the Inspiration and Veracity of the Bible by some who hold office in the Church and Universities of England, have been seized upon with avidity by the Church of Rome, and have been made the ground of accusations against the English Church and Universities for their connivance at such impeachments of the authority of the Holy Scripture.

It must be honestly avowed, and be deeply deplored, that such attacks as these upon the Word of God are preparing a triumph for Infidelity on the one side, and for Romanism on the other.

The use that is made by the Romish Church of some of these writings, which have recently been put forth by some persons in high places among us, ought to have the effect of awakening the zeal of all good men in the Church of England, and of stimulating them to waive their minor differences, and to unite with one heart in strenuous endeavours to strengthen the hands of godly discipline now so much relaxed among us, and to join with one consent in defending the oracles of God.

Those also in England who may be startled and staggered by the bold and blasphemous denials, which we now hear, of the divine origin of Holy Scripture, and may be tempted thereby to fall away to the Church of Rome as offering them shelter from such assaults, and as providing for them a harbour of peace, may be earnestly and affectionately requested to remember, that in that Church the Holy Scriptures are treated with contempt, which can hardly be matched by anything which is said or done in any other communion of Christendom, and even by the partisans of Rationalism.

The Church of Rome has placed her own traditions on a par with God's Word, and has made that "Word of none effect by those Traditions." She has put the Apocrypha on a par with the words of the Holy Ghost. She makes her own Latin Version to be the standard of Scripture. She

teaches that the Scripture derives its authority from herself. She sets up the Pope as the divinely-appointed Interpreter of Scripture, and requires all to receive his perversions of it, as Scripture. Above all, she withholds the Word of God from her people, and keeps them in a state of bondage and blindness, and ignorance of Scripture. She allows her Cardinals and Bishops to apply the most disparaging language to God's Word, and to call it "defective and obscure," "a leaden rule," "a nose of wax," and by other opprobrious terms.[8]

Whatever may be the sins of individual members of the Church of England—and much certainly there is, over which we ought to mourn with sorrow and shame—yet it is not by the writings of persons in the Churches of England or Rome that this question is to be decided, but by the conduct of the Churches themselves. How does the Church of Rome treat the Scriptures? That is the point. Has she ever printed in the City of Rome, a single edition of the Hebrew Bible? Did she ever print an edition of the Greek Testament in the City of Rome for more than three centuries after the invention of printing? Does she circulate the Word of God? Does she not proscribe its circulation? Does she ever read a single chapter or verse of the Bible at Rome in the ears of the people in their own tongue? Does she allow them to have Bibles? No. Does she not set the Bible at defiance in innumerable ways in her doctrines, her polity, and her worship?

Let such questions as these be answered, before she ventures to exult with triumphant scorn over a sister Church, on the ground of the wounds she is now receiving from the hands of some who ought to have been among the first to defend her.

Let her be desired to consider—let her advocates ponder well—whether there are not remarkable signs, which show that Rome has fulfilled, and is fulfilling, some of the most solemn and awful prophecies of Holy Scripture, and bears a striking resemblance to the Jewish Church of old, which

[8] These assertions have been fully substantiated by me in another place, i.e. in the Sequel of Letters to M. Gondon, Letter IV.

had the Scriptures, but overlaid them with her traditions; and for her punishment was blinded, and was not able to see the sense of the Scriptures, and which "fulfilled the Scriptures in condemning Him"[9] who is the Truth?

Sunday, June 22nd.—Went to the English Church. After the service spent some time in what may be called a subterranean Church of ancient Christian Rome,—one of the Catacombs,—that of S. Callistus. On this, "the first day of the week, when the disciples came together to break bread,"[1] what happy and holy hours were spent here by the first believers, who heard the voices of St. Paul, St. Peter, S. Clement, and S. Ignatius. How much strength and courage was derived from the ministries of religion in these quiet chambers, in the days of trouble and persecution. How many Confessors and Martyrs went forth with joy from the Catacombs to face the wild beasts in the Colosseum.

There is something very interesting in the excursion from Rome to this Catacomb, which is on the right hand of the Via Appia. In your way to it, a little while before you arrive at the Arch of Drusus, and the gate of S. Sebastian, you pass the tombs of the Scipios on your left. These monuments date from the time when the dead were *buried* by the Romans, and not *burnt*.

The most ancient name that has been found here is that of L. Scipio Barbatus, who was Consul in B.C. 259, and distinguished himself in his exploits against the Carthaginian fleet, and by his attack on Corsica and Sardinia. His son was also buried here, and some other members of his family. For many centuries their tombs remained unnoticed, and it was not till A.D. 1780 that they were brought to light. Unhappily they were not allowed to remain unmolested. The irreverent curiosity and meddling activity of a heartless Archæology rifled the sepulchres of the Scipios, and despoiled it of its venerable contents, and transferred the tombs to the halls of the Vatican Museum, and placed some counterfeit inscriptions—records of its own unfeeling profaneness—in their stead.

This sepulchre of the Scipios suggests many interesting

[9] Acts xiii. 27. [1] Acts xx. 7.

reflections. One must occur to every one who visits it. The greatest names of that illustrious family are *not* recorded there: an instructive memento of the worthlessness of mere contemporary fame. "Vivorum censura difficilis,"—*ἀμέραι δ' ἐπίλοιποι μάρτυρες σοφώτατοι.* "Ingrata Patria, ossa mea non habebis," said the noblest of the Scipios,—an exile at Liternum. The next in glory to him, Scipio Africanus Minor,—he who took Carthage,—is generally supposed to have been murdered in his bed. His name was *not* found in the "Tomb of the Scipios."

Soon after you have passed the Tomb of the Scipios you arrive at a vineyard (Vigna Codini), also on your left, where are three Columbaria, or large subterranean chambers, in which are the cinerary urns, arranged as in pigeon-holes (whence the name), and containing the ashes of many of the household of the Cæsars.

An examination of the *names* which occur in the inscriptions contained in these Columbaria, and which commemorate the persons whose ashes were committed to the urns, reveals some interesting coincidences with those which are found in the salutations of St. Paul, at the close of his Epistle to the Romans. We have here the name *Tryphæna*, a name borne by one of the Roman women who "laboured in the Lord" (Rom. xvi. 12). The names *Philologus* and *Julia*, mentioned by St. Paul (Rom. xvi. 15), are also found in the Columbaria of the Imperial household. "Amplias, the beloved in the Lord," has also a namesake in one of these monuments.

Other correspondences might be mentioned.[2] Whether the names in the Columbaria belonged to any of the *same* persons as those who are mentioned in the Epistle, cannot be determined; but they seem to confirm the inference, derivable from other evidence, that the Roman Church, in its infancy, consisted in a great measure of persons of the humbler class, such as freedmen and slaves, and that in the great Metropolis of the world, "God chose the weak and foolish things to confound the mighty and the wise; and

[2] The above have been already observed by Professor Lightfoot, in an interesting article in the "Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology," No. X., for March, 1857.

base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are, that no flesh should glory in His presence."[3] Having visited these Columbaria in the Vigna Codini, you proceed along the road to the Arch of Drusus, the son of Livia (afterwards wife of the Emperor Augustus), celebrated by Horace[4] for his victories in Rhœtia, the younger brother of one Emperor, Tiberius, and the father of another, Claudius, and more noble than either.

You then come to the gate of S. Sebastian, and soon afterwards you arrive at a door on your right, which leads to a Vineyard, in which is the Catacomb of S. Callistus, or, as it was called in ancient times, "Cœmeterium Callisti."

Thus, then, in a small compass, we have a specimen of the various modes of sepulture among the Romans; first, that of *burial* in the days of the Republic, then that of *burning*, and again that of *burial*, which was restored and rendered universal by belief in the doctrines of Christianity, especially the doctrine of the Incarnation of the Son of God, and of the indwelling of the Holy Spirit in the temple of the human body, and of its future Resurrection to glory and immortality; doctrines which had such influence on the world, that in a few years after the age of Constantine, scarcely a single body was *burnt* within the limits of the Roman Empire.

This was one of the great social revolutions which were wrought by Christianity. It gave dignity and hopes to the *body*, which it had never enjoyed before. There is not, I believe, any one known instance of the burial of a body *within* the walls of Rome, in the Heathen times of the *republic*.[5] Intramural burial was forbidden by the XII Tables. Death was an unclean thing in the eyes of the Heathen and Jewish world. But the Grave has been sanctified by Christianity; and when the Empire became Christian, the bodies of holy men were buried beneath the altars of the churches. A return to *cremation* is a return to *heathenism*.

The Catacomb of Callistus is in a garden, as was the

[3] 1 Cor. i. 27—29.

[4] Hor. Carm. iv. 4, 14.

[5] That of C. Publicius Bibulus was not within the walls of the Servian City.

tomb of Him who "brought life and immortality to light" by His glorious Resurrection from the dead. In this garden, when we visited it, the flowers of summer were blooming in the sunshine in rich colours. The natural type of Christian unity, the Vine and the emblems of sleep and resurrection, the flowers blooming from the earth, were happily combined with this peaceful funeral scene of Christian rest and hope.

"Cœmeterium Callisti," such was the name of this Catacomb. Probably it was so called from the Roman Bishop of that name, who sate in the Episcopal see from A.D. 218 to 223, and whose Episcopate is described in no very favourable terms in the recently recovered treatise of his contemporary, S. Hippolytus; but Callistus is now venerated as a Saint and a Martyr by the Church of Rome.[6] In the Roman Breviary he is said to have *enlarged* this *ancient* cemetery,[7] (it was therefore prior to his Pontificate,) "in which many holy Priests and Martyrs are buried, and which is called from him the Cemetery of Callistus."

Therefore this Catacomb carries us back to a very early age of Christianity. And who were those holy Priests and Martyrs, that were here buried? Doubtless this notice in the Breviary refers specially to one of its funeral chambers, which is now called "Capella dei Pontefici," on account of the ancient Bishops of Rome who were entombed there.

In this chamber we see the following inscriptions of names of Roman Bishops on separate slabs encrusted in the wall;[8]

ΑΝΤΕΡΩΣ ΕΠΙ

ΦΑΒΙΑΝΟΣ ΕΠΙΣ ΜΡ

that is,

ANTEROS BISHOP

FABIANUS BISHOP MARTYR

[6] See Breviarium Romanum, Oct. 14.

[7] Ibid. In Viâ Appiâ *vetus* cœmeterium ampliavit, in quo multi sancti Sacerdotes et Martyres sepulti sunt, quodque ab eo *Callisti* cœmeterium appellatur.

[8] Fac-similes of them, very carefully executed, may be seen in Dean Burgon's interesting Letters from Rome, pp. 157, 158.

CORNELIVS MARTYR EP

ΛΟνΚΙΣ

ΕνΤνΧΙΑΝΟΣ ΕΠΙΣ

that is,

CORNELIUS MARTYR BISHOP

LUCIUS

EUTYCHIANUS BISHOP

They were Bishops of Rome in the following order :—

Anteros, A.D. 235.
Fabianus, A.D. 236.
Cornelius, A.D. 250.
Lucius, A.D. 252.
Eutychianus, A.D. 275.

An old Latin Register of early Roman Bishops, published by Ægidius Bucherius, specifies the days on which some of these Bishops died and were buried. There we read, that Fabianus suffered on the 20th of January, and was buried "in Callisti," i. e. in this Catacomb.[9] And it is also stated there, that Lucius was buried "in Callisti" on the 5th March (he is not there designated as a Martyr), and that Eutychianus was buried on the 8th December "in Callisti."

These are interesting coincidences between the records in the ancient Register, and those now visible in the Catacomb; and it may be observed also, as another point of approximation, that Fabianus is said to have been the first Roman Bishop, who appointed subdeacons to superintend the notaries, who collected the "acts and sufferings" of the Martyrs.

It seems that the framer of that Register had no specific record of the day of the death of any Roman Martyr among the Bishops before Fabianus, nor of any other Roman Bishop (not a Martyr) before Lucius.

[9] See the authorities in Bishop Pearson's Opera Postuma, ed. Churton, vol. ii. pp. 314, 431.

As to the Episcopal names now visible in this Catacomb, it may be observed, that (with one exception) they are all in Greek. The earliest Latin Christian writers (except Minucius Felix) were not from Italy, but Africa; Tertullian and Cyprian. We hear of no Roman Bishop celebrated for learning, and writing in Latin, before the age of Leo I., who was Bishop of Rome in A.D. 440. It is a remarkable coincidence, that Cornelius is the only Bishop whose name is written in Latin in this Catacomb, and we have letters of Cornelius still extant, in reply to S. Cyprian, written in Latin, and the name Cornelius itself is of pure Latin origin: under him the Church of Rome began to put off its Greek dress, and to assume a more Latin character. These circumstances tally with the peculiarity of the inscription, and confirm its genuineness.

Next we may notice the simplicity of these inscriptions. There is no parade of earthly titles, or worldly dignity. These primitive Popes are recorded simply as Bishops; and one of them has not even that title. Not one of these early Roman Bishops is designated by the high-sounding and heathenish title of "PONTIFEX MAXIMUS," which now meets the eye in almost every corner of modern Rome.

I believe that these inscriptions are contemporaneous with the persons whom they record, and I was glad to find from the distinguished Christian Archæologist, Cavaliere De Rossi, that he is of the same opinion. If some of them are of rather later date, they would serve to show even still more strongly, that the temper of the Roman Bishops of the first three centuries, and of their intimate friends, was of a meek and humble character, which may be exemplary to some of their successors in modern days.

Another remark here. Only two of these early Bishops are designated in this Catacomb as Martyrs, Fabianus and Cornelius. But the modern Martyrologists of the Roman Church give the title of Martyr to Anteros,[1] and also to Eutychianus.[2] If they had been really Martyrs, would they not have been commemorated as such on their epitaphs?

[1] See Tillemont, Mém. Hist. Eccl. iii. p. 121.

[2] Ibid. p. 159.

Is there not here a confirmation of the remark of our learned English divine, Bishop Pearson, who has written so well on the early history of the Bishops of Rome?—"the common opinion, that most of the earliest Bishops of Rome were Martyrs, is erroneous;" "recepta de primis Romæ Episcopis plerisque Martyribus sententia erronea est."[3] And yet many modern Roman Catholic writers still cling to that notion. In one of the best modern books of travel in Italy, we read that "all the first thirty Popes were Martyrs."[4]

Popes Zephyrinus and Callistus, who died in a time of peace, and not of persecution, and preceded Anteros in the See of Rome by a few years, are now venerated at Rome as Saints and Martyrs.[5] But there is no trustworthy ancient evidence to justify that veneration; and some there is, which contravenes it.

It is an invidious thing, to appear to disparage the reputation of the departed. But the cause of Truth is more precious than the names of men; and the palms and crowns of Martyrdom lose their value, if they are bestowed indiscriminately on those who do not deserve them. Modern Hagiology has done much injury to the Saints, and modern Martyrologies have impaired the dignity of the Martyrs, by associating them with those who have little claim to that character. Where all are called Saints and Martyrs, Sanctity and Martyrdom are depreciated; and the History of the Christian Church is degraded to the level of Heathen Mythology. It is therefore due to the memory of the

[3] Bishop Pearson's Dissert. Post. i. c. iv. p. 311, ed. Churton. Bishop Pearson says, that if we consult the most ancient writers, we find no record of any martyr among those Bishops before Telesphorus, (A.D. 122,) nor after him till Pontianus, A.D. 236; but in modern writings of the Roman Catholic Church, *all* the Popes before Telesphorus are called Martyrs.

[4] M. Valéry, Voyages en Italie, p. 522, ed. Bruxelles, 1835, "Les *trente* premiers de ces Pontifes furent *tous Martyrs*."

[5] See the Roman *Breviary*, Aug. 26, and Oct. 14, on which day the *Diario Romano* notes the commemoration of "S. Callisto, Papa e Martire, alla sua chiesa in S. Maria in Trastevere, ove ripose il suo corpo, e in Sebastiano fuori le mura si conserva il suo capo."

genuine Saints and Martyrs, to challenge the claims of those who without sufficient cause are placed on a par with them.

The wilderness of Rome begins before you pass through its gates. In the vineyard which contains the Columbarium of the household of the Cæsars just mentioned, there is a pretty villa, and the keeper of the garden who showed us the Columbarium informed us, that he could not venture to pass a night in the villa at this season, for fear of the malaria fever. In the Campagna the malaria reigns in undisputed dominion over the soil. Can Rome become the Capital of Italy? Nature seems to say, No. The inveterate malaria of centuries, the mysterious miasma brooding over the sulphureous springs and brooks of the dreary desert around it seem to say, No. We cannot tell what modern science and cultivation may achieve. But is there not a power stronger than that of human armies and mechanical skill? Is it the will of God that Rome should be the capital of Italy? The King of Italy may occupy Rome; he may be crowned on the Capitol. But can any human power revive the spirit within, and make Rome again the Metropolis of Italy? Time will show. Alexander the Great endeavoured to make Babylon the capital of his empire; but though he had conquered Babylon and taken it, he could not restore it to its former self. God willed it otherwise, and had declared that will by the voice of prophecy. . . . . May it not be so with Rome?

We returned home through the Ghetto, or Jews' quarter. The invidious restrictions of former times have now been much relaxed. The gate which once separated this quarter no longer appears. The inhabitants were sitting in their shops, busy at their trade, on this the Christian Sunday; many of them work for the Churches of Rome in making hangings, &c.

There is something very mournful in a visit to this quarter, especially on a Sunday. The great doctrine of our Lord's Resurrection, preached at Rome by St. Paul, finds no response here. Here in a small compass we see Ezekiel's

Valley of dry bones. "Son of Man, can these bones live?[6] Lord, Thou knowest; and He said unto me, These dry bones are the house of Israel, and I will put My Spirit into them, and they shall live." St. Paul himself, writing to this City,[7] assures us that they will live; and how? By the Spirit of God, as Ezekiel declares, they can and will live;[8] and another prophet affirms that "after many days the Children of Israel shall return, and seek the Lord their God;"[9] and another says, "I will pour upon the house of David the spirit of grace and supplication, and they shall look on Me whom they have pierced."[1]

Perhaps, with reverence we may add, this great and glorious consummation will be brought about through the intermediate agency of some great shock to the temporal and spiritual power of the City and See of Rome.

The Church of Rome, as she now is, cannot convert the Jews; and she shows in this, as in many other ways, that she is not the true Church of God. For, it is God's will that the Jews should be converted by the Church's ministry, and if a Church cannot do God's will, she is not a faithful Church. Rome cannot convert the Jews. No; she hinders their conversion, first, by her creature-worship, which the Jews, having suffered so severely at Babylon for their own idolatry, now abhor and detest. And, therefore, the recent promulgation of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, by which the Blessed Virgin was almost deified, has raised another obstacle to the conversion of the Jews by the Church of Rome. And, next, she hinders the conversion of the Jews by altering the Hebrew Canon of Holy Scripture (which Christ Himself approved), and by placing the Apocrypha on a level with the books of Moses and the Prophets.

The Jews used to call Rome by the name of *Edom*, as an enemy to Jerusalem; and the Jews have an old proverb, that "when *Edom*" (by which they mean *Rome*) "is laid

[6] See Ezek. xxxvii. 3—14.
[7] Rom. xi. 13, 15, 25—27.
[8] Ezek. xxxvii. 5—14.
[9] Hosea iii. 5.
[1] Zech. xii. 10.

waste, *then* will come the redemption of Israel."[2] May it not be the design of Almighty God, to overrule the present troubles in Italy, which are shaking the foundations of the Temporal and Spiritual power of the Papacy, for some blessed dispensation to His own ancient people, the Jews? May not the hindrances to their conversion be removed by His judicial visitations on Rome, and a door be opened to the reception of the Jews into the spiritual Sion, the Church of Christ?

At the evening service in the English Church, the following words of the Great "Hebrew of the Hebrews," and Apostle of the Gentiles, St. Paul, who preached and suffered Martyrdom in this City, occurred in the second Lesson, "God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ; for in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature. And as many as walk according to this rule, peace be on them, and mercy, and upon the Israel of God."[3]

May that Apostolic benediction descend in God's own time, in all its spiritual fulness, on the Apostle's brethren according to the flesh, to whose fathers he preached the Gospel,—the inhabitants of the Roman Ghetto.

Tuesday, June 24th. St. John the Baptist's Day.—After the service at the English Church, went to St. John Lateran. This is a great day there. The nave was lined with soldiers keeping a clear space between their two files, for access to the altar. Beyond the altar, in the chancel were Cardinals in splendid attire, ranged on each side, and in the apse was the Pope, seated on his throne.

During the ceremonial the attendants of the Pope were busily employed in shifting his mitre,—taking it off, and then putting it on again,—and in arranging his dress as he rose, or sat down; an indecorous process, which seemed like the sport of children at play.

The body of this magnificent Church was thronged with people, while the Mass was going on, and the sermon was being preached; which was done in the chancel of the Church where the Pope and Cardinals were sitting, so that

[2] Rabbi Kimchi on Obadiah, and on Isaiah xxiv.

[3] Gal. vi. 14—16.

comparatively very few of the congregation could hear and see.

The people were walking up and down the church, and gossiping with their neighbours, with no semblance of reverence, except when the mass-bell gave the signal of the consecration of the host, and then they all suddenly dropped down on their knees to adore the real presence, as if they were the most devout people in the world. But soon they started up again on their feet, and began to talk and amuse themselves as before.

At the close of the service the Pope was raised on his "sedia gestatoria" on men's shoulders, and was escorted by the bearers of his peacock-plumed fans, one on each side, and was carried down the church, the people kneeling as he passed, to receive his benediction; the Cardinals followed, each with his train twisted up and borne by an attendant.

What a glorious occasion was this for producing a religious impression on the hearts and souls of the people! This church is one of the largest and noblest in Christendom, admirably adapted for hearing and seeing. And how was the occasion used? The service, which was three hours long, was in a language which scarcely any of the people could understand; those who officiated in it,—even the Preacher himself,—were put away in a place where they were only visible and audible to the Pope and Cardinals, and a few other persons: and the people were promenading in the church as if they were at a bazaar.

The Pope went from the church in a magnificent state-carriage drawn by six black horses; he gave his blessing as he passed, and the people waved their handkerchiefs and yellow and white flags. Then came the Cardinals in their splendid equipages. The spectacle was very brilliant,—brilliant, but melancholy in its splendour, and ominous of coming sorrows,—and many thousands of spectators were gathered together to see it. The vast piazza before the church was almost filled with people, and a large train of carriages and pedestrians lined the road down to the church of S. Clemente and towards the Colosseum, and the windows

of the houses on the way were occupied by gazers as they passed.

All the shops of Rome are shut to-day, except the shops for provisions and tobacco,—and for the sale of lottery tickets.

A Lottery has just been instituted at Rome for the purpose of augmenting the amount of Peter's pence for the maintenance of the Papacy; and the gifts offered to the Pope—such as jewels, rings, brooches, trinkets, bracelets, necklaces, pictures, and statues,—are to be the prizes in the Lottery. These are displayed to the public in a grand apartment in the Capitol. Any one who buys twenty lottery tickets is to be presented with a portrait of the Pope. On the 23rd of May, the Committee of Management of the Lottery had the honour of a reception from the Pope, when they laid at his feet the sum of 13,500 scudi, the first instalment of the profits of the Lottery. Since that time the amount paid has reached 50,000 scudi (Nov. 1862), the produce of the sale of 250,000 tickets. More than a million tickets have been sold.

Is the "Catholic world" content that its offerings to the Pope should be converted into prizes in a game of chance, and fall into hands, it may be, of fortunate heretics or democrats? and is the Papacy to be maintained by gambling?

To day is a "festa di precetto," and this closing of shops is rigidly enforced by law, and the people are obliged to keep holiday, whether they will or no. We might have purchased lottery tickets without stint; but I went in vain to the office of the steamers, and could not procure a ticket for the voyage from Civita Vecchia to Leghorn.

What would Rome be without the Papacy? Rome languishes under its influence, but one of her miseries is, that this influence has become almost necessary to her, like that of opium to its votaries.

But might she not be reanimated?

Surely she might; Christianity infused new vigour into the ancient Roman people; and they had strength to found an Empire in the East. Mere secular instruction and political formularies alone cannot do the work of national

Regeneration. Rome could not *make* Greece free by *proclaiming* her freedom at the Isthmian Games. Rome could not *make* Greece free by the voice of the heralds of Flamininus. Victor Emmanuel could not change the hearts of the Roman people, and alter their tastes and habits, if he were to ascend the Roman Capitol, and be crowned there King of Italy. That is a work which requires time. Conquerors cannot extemporise a Nation and improvise a Capital. Literature, Science, and the Arts may do much; but to revive a People from a state of moral lethargy is a work which requires the vivifying power of Christianity. It cannot be effected without the Holy Spirit of God.

And what human agency is to be applied to this work of Reformation? How is it to be *begun?* Some perhaps would reply, By attacks on the peculiar doctrines of Romanism. But this may well be doubted. The People are wedded to the dogmas of Romanism; and not having had access to the Scriptures, nor having been taught to venerate the Bible, but looking on their own Church as the living oracle of all Divine Truth, they are not in a condition, at present, to look with complacency on attempts to subvert their faith in her teaching.

They are also strongly attached by long usage to the Romish forms of devotion; and any assaults upon those forms, in the present condition and temper of the people, would excite their passions and might stimulate them to violence, and exasperate them against Reformation, and would expose its advocates to the charge of irreligion and infidelity.

But they *are* competent to enter into questions of religious *discipline* and ecclesiastical *polity*. If Reformation is to succeed in Rome, it ought, I apprehend, to *begin* with such questions as the following,—What is the true position of the Bishop of Rome according to the *ancient laws* and *usages* of the Church? What is the true nature of the Pope's jurisdiction? What are his real rights as to summoning Bishops from their own countries? what, as to the nomination of Bishops?

These, and such questions as these, involve simply a reference to *historical facts*, and could easily be determined.

They would not alarm the popular prejudices, or excite popular passions; but, on the contrary, they would be gladly welcomed by the great body of the Italian Nation, and even by the inhabitants of Rome, who have been awakened to examine the foundation of the Pope's temporal power, and who feel the evils which are produced by it.

Let the Church of Rome be purified and restored, and the City of Rome may revive also. Let the work of renovation be pursued with wise deliberation, and by gradual, regular, and well-considered measures, according to the laws and usages of the primitive Church. Let the People of Rome implore the Church of Rome to read the Holy Scriptures, and to offer prayer and praise to God in their own language; let her churches resound with the eloquence of such Bishops as Leo I. and Gregory I.: and then in due time the City of Rome may become the Capital of Italy—not for a few short years or months of temporary enthusiasm, but for many generations to come.

Much has been written concerning what is called "the Roman question." At the Peace of Villafranca (July 11, 1859), the two contracting Sovereigns, Napoleon III., and Francis Joseph of Austria, pledged themselves to endeavour to form an "Italian Confederacy, under the honorary Presidency of the Pope." This engagement was expressed in the first and second Articles of that Treaty. This pledge has never been redeemed, nor is it probable that it ever will be.

"The Emperor of Austria" (as is said in the third Article of that Treaty) "cedes his own rights over Lombardy to the Emperor of the French, who transfers them to the King of Sardinia, conformably to the votes of the people."

This stipulation seems to intimate, that "if the votes of the Roman people" were in favour of a similar transfer in the case of Rome, France would give effect to their desires.[4] But still, while on the one side Victor Emmanuel announces his resolve, and the resolve of the Italian people, to make Rome the Capital of Italy, and while the presence of the French troops is declared by France herself to be necessary

[4] She has now done so (1870).

to defend the Papal Sovereignty, and to maintain the Pope upon his throne, against the wishes of his People, the principle applied to Lombardy at the Peace of Villafranca, made by the Emperor of the French, does not seem at present to be deemed applicable to Rome. This is one of the labyrinths of diplomacy to which no logic can supply a clue.

May it not be, that while men are perplexing themselves in ingenious speculations and elaborate negotiations and manœuvres to find a solution to "the Roman question," it may be solved by Divine Providence in a way unexpected by them?

Time will show.

THREE LETTERS ON THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE COURT OF ROME AND THE KINGDOM OF ITALY.

The following Letters were addressed by me to the English Minister in Italy, Sir James Hudson, then resident at Turin. They were first printed in Italian, under the Title "Sulla Guerra della Corte di Roma contro il Regno d' Italia, Lettere Tre d' un dignitario ecclesiastico ad un Uomo di Stato; Torino, Tipographia Baglione, E. C. 1862."

Not long after the appearance of the first of these Letters the translator of them, Professor Paolo Pifferi, who resided at Turin (No. 8, Via Thesauro), received a private communication from an eminent Roman Ecclesiastic (who then lived at Turin), Cardinal de Angelis, who *supposed him* to be *author* of it, and who *offered him a pension*, if he would not write any more Letters on the same subject.

The words in which Signor Pifferi announced to me this overture from the Cardinal, in a letter dated Torino, 19 Agosto, 1862, were as follows—the letter is still in my possession:—

"Vive quì in un convento il Cardinale de Angelis, uomo vecchio, ed in predicamento di Papa. Esso ha letto la sua lettera, che li feci presentare per terza mano. Credendo ch' io ne fossi autore, esternò il desiderio di vedermi. . . . Mi

ha fatto da poi sapere che se *io volessi cessare dallo scrivere,* mi farebbe *avere una pensione dal Papa,* assicurata in un banco all' estero, e colla libertà di seguire qualunque opinione io volessi. Queste proposte sono state da me rigettate, come era naturale."

Cardinal de Angelis, who was Archbishop of Fermo, was afterwards called to Rome by Pope Pius IX., under whom he was advanced to the high office of "Camerlingo di Santa Chiesa," on September 20, 1867.

This statement of Signore Pifferi, which I have good reason to know was perfectly correct in all respects, is of public interest, as showing that the Church of Rome is well aware that the historical investigation of her claims to nominate to Episcopal Sees in Italy, would be very unfavourable and disastrous to her influence in that country. And may I venture to add, that it gives more reason to regret the policy of those Italian Statesmen who, by the "Law of Guarantees" (May 12, 1871), have surrendered to the Pope the appointment to Bishoprics in Italy and Sicily, in the hope of obtaining certain concessions from the Papacy favourable to their own temporal aggrandizement. Since 1871 the *Pope* has now (1878) nominated to *one hundred and fifty Episcopal Sees in Italy and Sicily.*

LETTER I.

To His Excellency, &c. &c.

Rome, 25th June, 1862.

Sir,—I venture to submit to you the following considerations in reference to the present crisis of public affairs in Italy, and especially with regard to the conflict which is assuming daily a more serious character between the Kingdom of Italy and the Court of Rome.

It can hardly be anticipated that the King of Italy will be able to contend with success against such a well-organized power as that of Rome, either by physical force or by merely political arguments, which may eventually lead to revolu-

tion. The Church of Rome will gain strength by seeming to be unjustly oppressed; and the spirit of liberty itself, unless regulated by reason and religion, may degenerate into licentiousness and anarchy, may even become dangerous to the Monarchy, and may ultimately recoil on those who have invoked its aid. If the Court of Rome is allowed to appear to have, as it were, a monopoly of Religion, she will eventually triumph over the secular power which has abandoned Religion to her patronage and protection.

On the other hand, it may be reasonably expected, that the kingdom of Italy will be firmly established, if it is enabled to show to the Italian people and to the world that the King's Government has Christianity on its side, and that the war which the Court of Rome is now waging against the King of Italy is not—as the Pope pretends, in his recent Allocution—a religious and holy warfare, but that it is in many respects an antichristian one.

This assertion may be proved in the following particulars among others:—

1. The Court of Rome, by a decree of the Roman Penitentiary, has forbidden the Bishops and Clergy of the Kingdom of Italy to take part in public prayers for their King and Country on the National Anniversary of the Statuto, June 1st.

It ought to be made manifest to Italy and to Europe, that this Papal decree is an irreligious one; that it is opposed to the commands of God in Holy Scripture that "supplications, prayers, and intercessions should be made for all men, for kings and for all that are in authority" (1 Tim. ii. 1, 2), even for heathen kings, even for a Nero. Hence it is evident that the Roman Pontiff, who, by the instrumentality of Italian Bishops, has suspended loyal Priests from the exercise of their sacerdotal functions, on account of their obedience to the precepts of Almighty God in Holy Scripture commanding them to pray for their king, and has thus deprived them of their daily bread, is not performing the part of a true Vicar of Christ, but is rather chargeable with the sin of antichristian cruelty and usurpation.

2. The Bishop of Rome, in his recent Allocution to the

Bishops assembled in the Consistory of June 9th, uttered strong vituperative language against the King of Italy, and denounced him in the face of Christendom as an enemy and persecutor of the Church, because he prevented the Bishops of Italy from obeying the summons of the Pope, desiring their attendance at the Vatican, for the canonization of the Japanese martyrs, on Whit-Sunday last.

But it ought to be shown to the world, that, according to the laws and usages of ancient Church polity, the Bishop of Rome has no authority to summon Bishops from other countries without the previous permission of the Sovereigns of those countries. The General Councils of the Church in early times, such as the Nicene Council, the Constantinopolitan, and that of Ephesus and of Chalcedon, were not summoned by Bishops of Rome, but by Christian emperors. According to the teaching of St. Paul, "every soul," whether lay or spiritual, "ought to be subject to the higher powers" (Rom. xiii. 1), in all things not repugnant to the Divine law; and it is the duty of Christian sovereigns to take care that the Bishops of their own realms do the proper work of their calling, as the ancient Christian Emperors, such as Constantine and Theodosius, acknowledged and affirmed. And, therefore, the King of Italy would have been wanting in the discharge of his duty to God and his people, if he had permitted the Bishops of Italy to quit their flocks at Whitsuntide, in order to attend the Bishop of Rome, and to take part in a religious ceremony, which, there is too good reason to believe, was devised to maintain his temporal power.

By such arguments as these, the charge of irreligion urged against the King of Italy may be thrown back upon the Bishop of Rome; and it may be proved that the Bishop of Rome is guilty of usurpation and of calumny, and that the King of Italy has religion on his side, as well as sound reason and enlightened policy.

3. At the present time there are, unhappily, many Episcopal Sees vacant in Italy, and many of the king's subjects are thus left without the spiritual care of chief pastors. And why? Because the Bishop of Rome will not give investiture

to those ecclesiastical persons who might be nominated by the King to those Episcopal sees.

But it ought to be shown that this claim of the Pope to the right of investiture is also an usurpation. It is not older than the times of Gregory VII. In the primitive ages, Bishops were appointed and consecrated without any reference to the Bishop of Rome. And if the King of Italy were to nominate Bishops to the vacant sees, and were to have them consecrated by other Bishops, without the intervention of the Pope, he would be restoring the practice of ancient Christendom, and would be recovering a right which belonged to Christian princes and people in the best ages of the Church, but has been wrested from them by Bishops of Rome.

These instances, which might be multiplied, may suffice to show that the King of Italy has now in his hands the means of contending against the Court of Rome by arguments which would deprive the Pope of those religious pleas on which he rests his claims, and would approve themselves to all thoughtful persons, and would display the King of Italy in the character of a champion of true religion and genuine Catholicity, as well as of liberty and loyalty.

I have the honour to be, sir,
&c. &c.

LETTER II.

To His Excellency, &c. &c.

Aug. 25th, 1862.

Sir,—I have to acknowledge with thankfulness the favourable reception you gave to the letter which I had the honour of addressing to you from Rome, on the 25th of last June, concerning the present conflict between the King of Italy and the Court of Rome.

That letter, having been published in Italian, in different parts of Italy, has attracted some attention, and I feel much pleasure in recording that it has been approved by persons whose judgment is entitled to respect.

Having been requested to offer some explanations on one of the topics discussed in that letter, namely, on the claim which is urged by the Court of Rome to control the nomination of Bishops to Episcopal Sees now vacant in Italy, I venture to ask permission to address this second letter to you upon that subject.

The Bishop of Rome puts forth the following claims with regard to the nomination and ordination of Bishops:—

1. He will not permit any Bishop to be consecrated to any See without his consent.

2. He asserts that the power of all Bishops is derived from the Church of Rome, and that Bishops have their Episcopal power "by the grace of the Apostolic See."

3. He requires all Bishops, at their consecration, to take a solemn oath of subjection and vassalage to himself, by which he binds them to "maintain the royalties of St. Peter against all men"—that is, to uphold the temporal power of the Papacy as well as the spiritual; and makes them engage to "persecute and impugn to the utmost of their power all who rebel against their Lord the Pope"—in which category he would doubtless include the King of Italy and all his adherents.

This Oath may be seen in the Roman Pontifical, p. 63 of the edition printed at Rome in 1818.[5]

4. When a Bishop is raised to the dignity of an Archbishop or Metropolitan, even his Episcopal power is revoked by the Bishop of Rome; and he is not permitted by the Pope to do any act as a Bishop, till he has sued for and obtained the Pallium from the Court of Rome, and has renewed his oath of subjection and vassalage to the Roman Pontiff.—See p. 87 of the Pontifical ed. Rom. 1818.

In the face of Italy, Europe, and the world, I here confidently assert that these acts of the Court and See of Rome are arbitrary usurpations; and that they ought to be resisted and rejected by all who love the Gospel of Christ, and are

[5] This Oath, as well as that mentioned in the next paragraph, is a novel usurpation, contrary to ancient ecclesiastical law and usage. See De Marca, De Concordiâ Sacerdotii et Imperii, vi. c. 7, p. 262, ed. Venet. 1770. Van Espen, Jus Eccles. Pars i. Tit. xv. cap. ii. p. 77, ed. Col. 1748.

zealous for the peace and prosperity of His Church, and for the unity and liberty of the kingdom of Italy.

Permit me, sir, to confirm this assertion by a memorable example.

One of the Churches of Italy, which is now virtually deprived of its Bishop, is that of Milan. In common with many others who have lately entered the doors of its magnificent Cathedral, I have mourned over the spiritual widowhood of that ancient and illustrious Church, and I have asked myself this question—Is the Court of Rome to be permitted to bereave the Church and people of Milan of a successor to S. Ambrose? Is the Bishop of Rome to hold the keys of that Cathedral, and to prevent any one, as long as he pleases, from occupying the Episcopal throne? How was S. Ambrose himself elected? Was he appointed by the Bishop of Rome? No. Had the Bishop of Rome any share in his election, confirmation, or consecration? No; none whatsoever. All the circumstances of the appointment of S. Ambrose to the See of Milan in the year 374 are well known. They may be seen in the account of his life by Paulinus, and in the ancient Church Histories of Ruffinus, Theodoret, Socrates, and Sozomen. In none of these is there a single syllable concerning the intervention of the Court of Rome in his election, confirmation, or consecration. And can it be supposed that S. Ambrose, the greatest Bishop who ever filled the See of Milan, and one of the most glorious lights of the Church of Italy and Christendom, would have consented to be chosen and ordained in an irregular and uncanonical way? Assuredly not. And if the consent of the Court of Rome was not necessary for the election and consecration of a Bishop of Milan in the fourth century, and if none of the Catholics of Milan ever dreamt of asking that consent in that age, why should it be needed now? Are we better than the primitive Christians? No. Let us return to the principles and practices of the age of S. Ambrose, and then we may hope that, by God's grace, other Ambroses will arise to fill the Episcopal chairs of Milan and of other cities of Italy.

But perhaps, sir, it may be said, that the case of S.

Ambrose was a single and solitary one. Let me, therefore, cite a testimony from the pages of one who is an unimpeachable authority on this subject. I will not refer to any learned Protestant writer, such as Isaac Barrow,[6] or Joseph Bingham,[7] or to the works of the celebrated jurist, Hugo Grotius, or of the Portuguese canonist, Antonio Pereira,[8] who have treated this question with much labour and research; nor will I appeal to the erudite Doctor of the Sorbonne, Louis Ellies Dupin,[9] who gives clear evidence on this subject; but I will cite the words of a Roman Catholic Archbishop of the most illustrious See of France, an Archbishop of Paris, Peter de Marca.[1] He thus writes:—"The election and ordination of Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, which was made by a Synod of all Italy, convened by the decree of the Emperor Valentinian, is a proof that the Bishop of Rome had no authority at that time in the ordinations of the Metropolitan of Milan, with which he did not then intermeddle; and it was not till a late age that he usurped that authority." He also adds, that "the Bishop of Rome's power of ordaining was restrained in ancient times to the *suburbicarian churches;*" that is, to those churches which were

[6] Barrow on the "Pope's Supremacy," chap. vi. pp. 369—390, vol. vi. ed. Ox. 1818.

[7] Bingham, "Antiquities of the Christian Church," Book ii. chaps xvi. and xvii., and Book ix. chap. v.

[8] Who have defended the royal right of investiture of Bishops.—See "Grotius de Imperio summarum Potestatum circa Sacra." xv.—xxx.; and Pereira, "Tentativa Theologica," Part i. sec. xi., who says, "It is fully proved, from all historical monuments and councils, that the ancient elections and confirmations of Bishops were for many ages lawfully managed in the Church without any dependence on the Roman Pontiff;" see also Ibid. sect. viii.

[9] Dupin, de Antiq. Eccles. Disciplina, p. 32. "The limits of the Roman Patriarchate do not appear to have extended beyond these provinces, which were subject to the 'Vicarius Urbis,' and are called *suburbicariæ* by Ruffinus. Beyond these, the Metropolitans, *even in Italy*, ordained their own Bishops, and were ordained by them. But in course of time the Bishop of Rome invaded their jurisdiction." See also Van Espen, Jus Eccles. Pars i. Tit. xiv. p. 69.

[1] De Marca, De Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii, lib. vi. cap. iv. See also Père Thomassin, "Vetus et Nova Ecclesiæ Disciplina," ii. 2, c. 8, n. 3—11.

within a certain distance of the *urbs* or city of Rome; but that it did not extend to the *Italic* dioceses, which were then distinguished from the *Roman,* and did not comprehend the cities of Bologna, Modena, Parma, Piacenza, Pavia, Padua; and that the Bishop of Rome had no share whatever, in primitive times, in the appointment, confirmation, or consecration of Bishops of Ravenna, Aquileia, Milan, Genoa, or Turin. "In the twelfth century," says De Marca,[2] "the Metropolitans of each province had the sole authority of examining and confirming the elections of Bishops within their provinces; but at that time an appeal to the See of Rome was introduced, and thus great violence was done to the ancient Canons of the Church."

I do not therefore hesitate to assert that, if the Metropolitan See of Milan were now filled up without any reference to the Court of Rome—as it was filled up in the age of S. Ambrose—such an act would be in entire accordance with the true principles and practice of the ancient Catholic Church; and I also boldly affirm, that a Metropolitan of the Church of Milan, so constituted, would and ought to have the principal voice in the consecration and confirmation of the Bishops of his province, duly elected and appointed, without any reference to the Court or See of Rome.

Similar observations would apply to many other Italian Sees—as, for instance, the Archiepiscopal See of Turin, now vacant.

With regard to the assertion of the Bishop of Rome, that all Episcopal power is derived from himself, it may suffice to quote the words of Father Thomassin,[3] who says, "that the first Bishop who styled himself a Bishop 'by grace of the Apostolic See,' lived in the thirteenth century, A.D. 1250."

I might proceed to prove, that although the Bishop of Rome, as far as he is a *Bishop* of the *Church,* possesses *Episcopal* power by *divine right,* yet, as far as he is a *Metropolitan* or *Patriarch* of a *particular territory,* his jurisdiction is of *human institution;* and that its limits may law-

[2] De Marca, De Concordia, &c., lib. vi. cap. iii.

[3] Thomassin, ibid. i. lib. i. cap. 60.

fully be altered according to the exigencies of the Church, from time to time; and that he cannot rightly exercise any authority over any part of the King of Italy's dominions without the consent of the Sovereign, to whose care that kingdom is committed by the Providence of God.

No Episcopal See ought to be kept vacant beyond a certain time. This is forbidden by the Canons of the ancient Church. The General Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, fixed three months as the limit within which every Episcopal vacancy ought to be filled up. It is therefore a sacred duty of the Crown of Italy to lose no time in providing Bishops for the vacant Sees in its dominions. The People of Italy have a solemn claim upon the Crown; they have a right to enjoy the spiritual superintendence of faithful chief Pastors. Let pious, learned, zealous, and loyal men be chosen to fill the vacant Sees of Italy, and let them be duly consecrated, according to the laws and usages of the ancient Church.

The Roman Pontiff is a hard taskmaster; he has treated the Bishops of Italy with cruelty, in order that he may aggrandize himself. By unjust and unrighteous oaths, which he imposes upon them, and which are of no validity, and ought to be abjured because they are unjust and unrighteous, he has degraded the Bishops of Italy into bondsmen of the Court of Rome; he has forced them into a position of antagonism to their King and Country; he has made them vassals of the Roman Papacy, in order that they may be enemies of the People of Italy. They are, therefore, entitled to compassion. Let not the Government of Italy visit the sins of the Roman Court on the head of the Italian Episcopate. Let not the Parliament of Italy be hurried on by eager and angry passion to enact such laws as those now in contemplation, which would restrain the Bishops of Christ's Church from publishing even a Pastoral Charge, without the previous consent of the civil power. Let it not heap new disgrace on the Bishops of Italy, by changing them from vassals of the Pope into bondsmen of the State. But let it conciliate the Italian Episcopate by acts of kindness and consideration. Let the Statesmen of Italy on the one side,

and the Bishops of Italy on the other, endeavour to meet one another as brethren in Christ, upon the peaceful ground of primitive Christian Antiquity. Even the civil tumults, with which Italy is now threatened, supply an additional reason for mutual conference and friendly co-operation between the civil and spiritual powers. Let them retire from the political storms of the age of Pius IX., to the serener atmosphere of the days of S. Ambrose. Then the rights of the Italian Crown will be preserved, the sanctity of the Altar will be unsullied, the welfare of the People of Italy will be promoted. There will be loyalty in the Church and piety in the Senate, and Italian Unity and Liberty will flourish side by side, with fresh strength and beauty, beneath the benign and genial shade of ancient Catholic truth.

I have the honour to be, sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

LETTER III.

To His Excellency, &c. &c.

Sir,—A visit which I paid a short time ago to the magnificent cathedral of Milan, induced me to make some reflections, which were communicated to you in my letter of the 25th of last August; and, with your permission, I would now resume the subject, in its relation to the present struggle between the Government of Italy and the Court of Rome.

The Metropolitan Church of Milan, the Episcopal See of S. Ambrose, is now without an Archbishop; the Province of Milan, containing many Suffragan Bishops, is without a Metropolitan. Ordinations of the clergy, Confirmations of young persons, cannot be solemnized. The flock is without a pastor; the body without a head.

This unhappy state of things suggests many important reflections on the present condition of the Church in Lombardy, and in other parts of the kingdom of Italy.

1. In primitive times, the Clergy and people of a Diocese elected their own Bishop; and when the Roman Empire became Christian, the Emperors exercised considerable influence in the appointment of Bishops. For example, the Emperor Valentinian (A.D. 374) approved the election of S. Ambrose at Milan.

The Bishops of each Province, when they had been elected by the Clergy and People, and approved by the Crown, were confirmed by the Archbishop or Metropolitan of the Province, and were consecrated by him, and by two or three other of the suffragan Bishops of the Province. For example, S. Ambrose, the Archbishop or Metropolitan of the Province of Milan, consecrated the Bishops of Brescia, Como, Bergamo, Pavia, and other places, as may be proved from his letters,[4] which are still extant.

In those times the Bishop of Rome had no voice in the matter, except with regard to the Bishops of the suburbicarian Churches, i. e. those who had sees in the neighbourhood of the *urbs* or city of Rome.

2. In course of time, the Emperors assumed to themselves almost the exclusive share in the nomination and investiture of Bishops, to the prejudice of the ancient elective rights of the Italian Clergy and People.

In the seventh, and three following centuries, the Emperors still had the principal power in the nomination of the Popes of Rome. But in the eleventh century, Pope Gregory VII. (Hildebrand), on the plea of restoring their ancient rights to the Clergy and People, contested the question of investiture with the Emperor Henry IV., and succeeded in wresting it from him (A.D. 1074).

The Emperor being thus deprived of this power, the Pope and his successors next directed their efforts against the Clergy and People, and finally succeeded in forcibly transferring the nomination of all the Bishops to themselves; and they devised a new oath (to which I referred in my second letter), which they imposed on all Bishops at the time of their consecration, and by which they bound all the Bishops

[4] See S. Ambrose, Epist. 60, and Tillemont, Mémoires, vol. x. p. 37, ed. Bruxelles, 1732.

of the Church of Christ in Italy as vassals to the Roman See, and slaves of the Court of Rome.

3. The Council of Bâle, in A.D. 1433—1436, struggled against these Papal usurpations, and endeavoured to restore the right of election to its ancient and lawful possessors; and in 1438, the *Pragmatic Sanction* at Bourges, under Charles VII., King of France, gave a civil, as well as ecclesiastical support and authority to its decrees.

4. But in 1516, Pope Leo X. induced Francis I. of France to abrogate the Pragmatic Sanction, and to accept a *Concordat* instead.

By virtue of this *Concordat* the Pope allowed the King to absorb into himself the elective privileges of the People and Clergy, and the King permitted the Pope to swallow up all the rights of the Metropolitans in the confirmation and consecration of Bishops. It was commonly said at the time, that in framing this Concordat, "the Pope and the King gave to one another what did not belong to them," and what they ought to have defended, namely, the rights of the People, Clergy, and Bishops, and the sacred inheritance of Christ's Church.

Other sovereigns of Europe were beguiled by the Church of Rome to imitate the example of Francis I., and the influence of that Concordat is still felt in almost every part of the Continent, especially in Italy.

5. In the year 1693, there were no less than thirty-five bishoprics vacant in France. And why? Because the French King, Louis XIV., had a quarrel with the Court of Rome, and the Court of Rome would not grant bulls of investiture to the King's nominees.

In order to serve his political purposes, the King of France made a humble submission to the Pope, and the Pope vouchsafed to give bulls of institution to the ecclesiastics named by the Crown to fill the vacant sees.

6. In 1801, Napoleon Bonaparte, then First Consul of France, and President of the French Republic, endeavoured to restore the public profession of the Christian religion in France; and with this view he entered into negotiations with the Pope, Pius VII.

He also, in imitation of Francis I., made a *Concordat* with the Papacy, first for France, and then for Italy. He did not restore the rights of election of Bishops to the Clergy and People, nor did he restore to the Metropolitans the right of confirming and consecrating Bishops. But he claimed for himself the sole power of nominating to all the Episcopal Sees in France, and nearly to all those of Italy; and, in order that the Pope might support him in the exercise of this patronage, he conceded to the Pope a *veto on his appointments.* "*This,*" he said afterwards, "*was the greatest mistake of my reign;*" for he had thus made the Papacy necessary to himself, and had not provided for emergencies, in which the Court of Rome might be opposed to the interests of France.

Such an emergency actually occurred. Pope Pius VII. excommunicated Napoleon, then Emperor, on the 10th June, 1809. What, then, was to be done? How could Bishops be nominated in France and Italy? The Pope would not accept the nominees of the Emperor. Napoleon convoked the National Council of Paris in 1811, and at its meeting he expressed his regret, "that the most illustrious and populous churches of the Empire were vacant, because the Court of Rome refused to give effect to the Concordat of 1801." On the 5th August, 1811, the National Council of Paris decreed, "that no Episcopal See ought to remain vacant more than a year," and "*that if,* after the expiration of six months, *the Pope refused to institute* the Bishops nominated by the Crown, then the *Metropolitan* of the *Province* should *give the requisite institution;* and in case of a vacancy in a Metropolitan See, the senior Bishop of the Province should give institution."

This decree of the Council of Paris was submitted to the Pope, and approved by a Brief, September 20th, 1811. Nor was this all. On the 25th January, 1813, a new *Concordat* was drawn up and signed by the Emperor and Pope at Fontainebleau, in which the above-named decree of the Council of Paris was inserted, and extended to the kingdom of Italy, with the exception of six *suburbicarian* Sees, and ten others in France or Italy, to be agreed upon.

But the fortunes of Napoleon were then beginning to wane; and on the 24th March, 1813, the Pope retracted his assent to the Concordat of Fontainebleau; and by the fall of Napoleon and the return of the Bourbons, the Court of Rome was raised to the same position in which it had been placed by the Concordat of 1801, which the Emperor Napoleon deplored "as the greatest mistake of his reign." It has retained that position in Italy till the recent campaign of Magenta and Solferino, and until the union of Lombardy, Tuscany, Naples, and Sicily, and a large part of the Roman States, under Victor Emmanuel, King of Italy.

7. Precisely the same difficulty has now arisen in Italy as occurred in France under Louis XIV. and Napoleon I. No means exist for filling up any Bishopric in Italy.

How will this difficulty be solved?

Will the King of Italy imitate Louis XIV. in making a humble submission to the Court of Rome? Or will he endeavour to obtain from Pius IX. a Concordat like that which Napoleon extorted from Pius VII. at Fontainebleau, and which that pontiff afterwards revoked? No. It may be confidently predicted, that he will not degrade his royal dignity by such humiliating and fruitless attempts. The history of the past forbids it. The King of Italy will not sacrifice the ancient and undoubted rights of the People, Clergy, and Metropolitans in the appointment of Bishops. While he maintains the just prerogatives of the Crown in this matter, he will also respect the liberties of his subjects. He will emancipate the Bishops of Italy from their vassalage to the Court of Rome.

Let, then, the Crown and People unite with the Bishops and Clergy in an honest and cordial endeavour to understand their relative rights, and to maintain them. A glorious opportunity is now presented to them, Let them not let it slip. Let them join together in a deliberate resolution to place learned, pious, and loyal Bishops in the vacant Episcopal Sees, according to the laws and usages of the ancient Italian Catholic Church. Then the Altar and the Throne will not be opposed to each other in a disastrous and destructive rivalry. The Throne will be established by loyalty and

consecrated by religion, and the Crown of the Sovereign will shine with radiant light, like a halo of Peace.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

Oct. 1878.—The suggestions offered in the above letters were disregarded; and the Government of the King of Italy is now feeling the unhappy consequences of allowing the Bishop of Rome to fill all the Episcopal Sees of Italy and Sicily with nominees of his own creation, bound to the Pope by an oath of vassalage, and hostile to the Crown, and exercising their influence, through the Priesthood (which is under their absolute sway) and by the Confessional, in favour of the Papacy, and against the Monarchy. The present Pope (Leo XIII.) in his letter to Cardinal Nina (Aug. 27, 1878) affirms that "the State has left the Pope free to nominate to all Sees in Italy."

But the present "Ministro dei culti," Signor Conforti, has just put forth a manifesto, contending that the "Law of Guarantees" (May, 1871) gave up the *spiritualties* of Bishoprics to the Pope, but *not* the *temporalities* of those Sees (such as the Archbishopric of Naples), which had been in royal patronage. This plea has been confirmed in the case of the Archbishop of Chieti (Luigi Ruffo) by a decree of the Civil Tribunal of that place (Sept. 2, 1878), on the application of the King's Attorney-General (Casale); and the defendant has been condemned as contumacious, with costs, for assuming the title of Archbishop of Chieti, on the nomination of the Pope.

But the only real remedy is—to *repeal the Law of May*, 1871, and to return to the practice of the ancient Church of Italy. The Italian Government, by that Law, sacrificed to the Pope the Royalties of Christ, (the Divine Head of the Church,) and surrendered the rights of the Church (which it was *not competent to do*) in order to gain a temporal Crown for itself. Let it be true to Christ, and He will defend it against the Pope.

THE GREEK ARCHBISHOP OF SYROS, &c., ALEXANDER LYCURGUS.

The eyes of England and Christendom are now turned towards the East. Whatever may be the immediate result of the struggle there, this seems to be certain, that the conflict will exercise a powerful influence on the destinies of the Ottoman Empire and of Oriental Christianity. The days of Mussulman dominion seem to be drawing to a close; and the question will then arise, What are the hopes of revival and restoration for the ancient Churches of the East?

Those Churches have little to expect from the Latin hierarchy, and from religious societies in communion with Rome. The attempt made at the Council of Florence, in the fifteenth century, to coerce the Eastern Churches into submission to the Western, served to widen the breach between them; and the appeals put forth by Pope Pius IX. at his elevation to the Papal throne, and on the eve of the Vatican Council, have revived and intensified the feelings of indignation with which the Eastern Patriarchs have long regarded the claims made by the Roman Church to spiritual supremacy.

But is there no hope of communion between the East and West,—especially from England's acquisition of Cyprus?

Alexander Lycurgus, Archbishop of Syros, Tenos, and Delos, and other isles of the Ægæan, was an example of a Greek prelate of the nineteenth century, who in no inconsiderable degree represented the feelings and reproduced the learning and eloquence of the Eastern Bishops, who

sate in Councils of the ancient Catholic Church at Nicæa, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon. And, while he maintained steadfastly the doctrine and discipline of Eastern Christendom, yet he had a large-hearted and generous sympathy for Western Churches, professing to build on Holy Scripture as expounded by the judgment and practice of the Primitive Church. May I be pardoned for mentioning a slight but significant specimen of the genial elasticity of his temper in this respect? Although the Greek Church of the present day prescribes celibacy to its Bishops, yet when he first honoured me with a visit at Riseholme at the end of January, 1870, and when my wife and daughters were presented to him on his arrival, his reply was, πολλὰ καλά, κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἔθος (*Very well; this is according to primitive custom*); and I cannot forget the enthusiasm with which in Lincoln Cathedral, having mounted the pulpit before divine service, he looked around him, and stretching forth his hands, exclaimed in his native tongue, "May I live to see the time when the blessed truths of the Gospel may be preached here from Greek lips to English ears!" nor how from the carriage at the door of the Cathedral, when he saw the choristers coming forth from the church he asked leave to stop them for a minute, and as if he felt certain that they would understand any words that came from his heart, he assured them of his fervent prayer that they might make progress (προκοπὴν) in all that was good, and grow up γνήσια τέκνα τῆς πατρίδος καί τῆς ἐκκλησίας (genuine sons of their Country and of their Church); nor how after the consecration of my dear brother in Christ, the Bishop-Suffragan of Nottingham (Dr. Mackenzie) on the Festival of the Presentation in the Temple, Feb. 2nd, 1870, in St. Mary's Church in that town, he came into the vestry, and threw his arms round his neck and kissed him on the cheek, and prayed that he might be able at the great day to give a good account of the flock committed to his care, and receive a reward from the Shepherd and Bishop of our souls.

It may perhaps be fanciful to augur much from such effusions as these; but it ought not to be forgotten that we have much in common with the Eastern Church. The

Greek Fathers are ours. We love the Clements, the Polycarps, the Basils, the Gregorys, the Chrysostoms of Eastern Christendom, and we thank God that the Eastern Church has never had a Council of Trent nor a Vatican Council; and that she has not raised up an insuperable barrier between us and herself by arrogant pretensions to Supremacy and Infallibility, as they have done, who have thus shut the door of repentance against themselves, and have condemned themselves to a perpetual imprisonment of error.

We cannot also forget the endeavours made by our own learned and pious forefathers to open friendly communications with Eastern patriarchs and prelates, in the days of our Stuart princes, and in the primacy of Archbishop Wake, and more recently in that of Archbishop Howley, who, when some persons showed a disposition to exaggerate errors and corruptions prevailing in the Churches of Greece and Asia, and to dwell upon them with unamiable self-complacency, said, with that mild wisdom which characterized him, "I know all this very well; but such things as these are due to their Mussulman oppressors; and a charitable allowance ought to be made for those who have groaned for so many centuries under the Turkish yoke;" and then he quoted with a placid smile two lines of Homer:—

"ἥμισυ γάρ τ' ἀρετῆς ἀποαίνυται εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς
Ἀνέρος, εὖτ' ἄν μιν κατὰ δούλιον ἦμαρ ἕλῃσιν."

"*Far-seeing Jove half of his manhood takes*
From him on whom the day of bondage falls."

And in a similar spirit, in 1867, Archbishop Longley ordered the Lambeth Encyclic to be translated into Greek as well as into Latin, and to be sent, with a brotherly salutation, to the Eastern Bishops. (See below, p. 296.)

Forty-four years ago, at Athens, it was my happiness to enjoy friendly intercourse with the then Bishop of that city. I remember the oration he pronounced at that time, under the shade of the Temple of Theseus, in order to welcome King Otho, the first king of Greece since the days of Alexander the Great. My own intercourse with him was the more pleasant and profitable because it was under the

hospitable roof of American missionaries, to whom I owe a debt of deep gratitude, which I am desirous of placing on record here, for nursing me in sickness after a wintry journey from Athens to Delphi, and back.[1] These American missionaries had then a flourishing school of Greek children gathered together to receive Christian instruction from them; and the Bishop of Athens cheered this work of love by his presence and his blessing; and in that practical evidence of mutual confidence and affection and harmonious co-operation in Christian education, there seemed to be a happy augury of what might be done for Eastern Christendom by wise and charitable conference and co-operation on the part of Western Churches.

The eloquent Archbishop of Syros, Alexander Lycurgus, delivered a memorable oration in the same city in the cathedral church. That discourse displayed a striking proof that Greece has still her martyrs to Christianity. It was a funeral oration on the Patriarch Gregory of Constantinople, who suffered on Easter Day, 1821, being strangled at the gate of his own palace by Turkish assassins. They had tried to induce him, by the offer of life and wealth and honour, to renounce the faith. But in vain; he remained steadfast to the end. The history of the subsequent adventures of his body till it rested in the grave at Athens, where it now lies, near the mortal remains of those who fell in the Peloponnesian war, and whose obsequies were graced by the eloquence of Pericles, is related in the excellent sketch of his life by Miss F. M. F. Skene;[2] and the history of Gregory the Patriarch of Constantinople, whose martyrdom and funeral are there described, as well as the narrative of the life of the Archbishop of Syros, who pronounced the sepulchral oration over his body, and who died (we might almost say a martyr) in his zealous endeavour, in the Conference at Bonn, to promote the exercise of Christian sympathy between the Churches of the East and those of the West which cling to ancient catholicity as distinguished

[1] See above, p. 34.

[2] Life of Alexander Lycurgus, Archbishop of the Cyclades, by F. M. F. Skene. London, Rivingtons, 1877. See p. 68.

from the errors and novelties of Rome, may serve to quicken a feeling of humble hope, that if it should please God that Constantinople should cease, after more than four centuries, to be the seat of Moslem misrule, and be restored to the Christian faith and to Christian worship, the Cross may again surmount the Church of Santa Sophia; and that other Gregorys and other Chrysostoms may sit on its Patriarchal throne, and that faithful worshippers from the East and from the West may meet together as brethren under its dome, to sing praises to their common Lord.

The union of the ancient Churches of the East with the Western Churches of the Anglican and American communions, and with the Old Catholics of continental Europe, may be designed by Almighty God, in His merciful providence, to be a bulwark against the assaults of Unbelief and Ultramontanism, which now menace Christendom; and to be a safeguard of that Faith which is contained in Holy Scripture, and was held by the Primitive Church, and which is the only real guarantee for the security of Thrones, and for the peace and prosperity of Nations.

Having had the honour of receiving the Archbishop[3] and his friends at Riseholme, at the end of the month of Jan. 1870, I accompanied him to Nottingham, where I was engaged to take part in the consecration of the Right Rev. Henry Mackenzie, D.D., Archdeacon of Nottingham and Subdean of Lincoln, to be Bishop Suffragan of Nottingham in the Diocese of Lincoln—the first Bishop Suffragan in England after a lapse of more than two centuries.

The consecration took place in St. Mary's Church, Nottingham, on Feb. 2, 1870, the Festival of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple. The consecrating Bishops were the Bishop of London (Dr. Jackson, acting by commission from the Archbishop of Canterbury), the Bishop of Lichfield (Dr. Selwyn), the Bishop of Hereford (Dr. Atlay), the Bishop of St. Andrew's (Dr. Charles Wordsworth), and the Bishop

[3] A narrative of the Archbishop's visit to Riseholme and Nottingham may be seen in Miss Skene's Life of the Archbishop already quoted, pp. 86—91.

of Lincoln. The sermon was preached by the Rev. Canon Morse, M.A., Vicar of St. Mary's, Nottingham.

The Archbishop of Syros was present, and other Greek Ecclesiastics, and a very large congregation of Clergy and Laity.

After the Consecration the Archbishop was entertained at a public banquet, after which the following address was presented to him:—

Τῷ *πανιερωτάτῳ* Ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Σύρου καὶ Τήνου, Κυρίῳ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Λυκούργῳ, *χαίρειν ἐν* Κυρίῳ.

Ἡμεῖς *οἱ ἐπίσκοποι, πρεσβύτεροι, διάκονοι, καὶ πιστοὶ τῆς* Ἀγγλικανῆς Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας, *συναθροισθέντες ἐλέει* Θεοῦ *ἐν τῇ τῆς* Ὑπαπαντῆς *ἑορτῇ διὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν ἀδελφοῦ ἡμῶν ἀγαπητοῦ τοῦ αἰδεσιμωτάτου* Κυρίου Ἐνρίκου *χωρεπισκόπου τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ περιφήμου πόλεως* Νοττιγγαμίας, *ἀσπαζόμεθα μετὰ πολλῆς ἀγαλλιάσεως καὶ σεβασμοῦ τὴν εὐπρόσδεκτον τῆς πανιερότητός σου παρουσίαν, ὡς βέβαιον καὶ ζῶντα ἀρραβῶνα καὶ ἐγγυητὴν τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς φιλαδελφίας καὶ ὁμονοίας τῆς ὀρθοδόξου ἀνατολικῆς* Ἐκκλησίας.

Πάνυ *ἀσμένως ἀνεγνωρίσαμεν τὰ προσφιλέστατα καὶ εὐνούστατα γράμματα, τὰ νεωστὶ παρὰ τοῦ παναγιωτάτου* Γρηγορίου, Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, *πρὸς τὸν πανιερώτατον ταύτης τῆς ἐπαρχίας* Μητροπολίτην, Καντουαρίας Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον, *κομισθέντα· καὶ ἐκτενῶς δεόμεθα τοῦ παντοκράτορος καὶ παντελεήμονος* Θεοῦ, *ἵνα διὰ τῆς ὑπερεντεύξεως τοῦ ἑνὸς* Μεσίτου, Υἱοῦ *αὐτοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ* Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ Θεοῦ *καὶ ἀνθρώπου, καὶ ἐπιχορηγίας τοῦ* Ἁγίου Πνεύματος, *σθενώμεθα τῇ ἰσχύι* Αὐτοῦ· *καὶ ἵνα μεθ' ὑμῶν κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ἀνατολὴν σφιγκτοτέροις ἀγάπης δεσμοῖς συναφθέντες, καὶ μετὰ πάντων ἐν πᾶσι τῆς οἰκουμένης κλίμασιν ἀφθάρτως καὶ ἀκηράτως* Χριστιανῶν *κατηρτισμένοι ἐν τῇ ἑνότητι τοῦ πνεύματος, καὶ τῷ συνδέσμῳ τῆς εἰρήνης, γενναίως μεθ' ὑμῶν συναθλῶμεν, ὡς καλοὶ στρατιῶται* Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, *ἕνα ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας ἔχοντες, καὶ ἓν κοινὸν παράσημον τὸν τιμιώτατον αὐτοῦ σταυρὸν, καὶ τὰς ἁγίας καὶ θεοπνεύστους γραφὰς κρατοῦντες ἐμπέδως καὶ ἀσαλεύτως, ὡς βέβαιον καὶ ἀναμάρτητον* Θεοῦ *λόγον, καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ὅρους τῶν ἁγίων*

πατέρων στοιχοῦντες, καὶ κατὰ τοὺς κανόνας τῶν ἀρχαίων συνόδων τῶν γνησίως καὶ ἐτύμως οἰκουμενικῶν εὐτάκτως περιπατοῦντες, ἐπαγωνίζεσθαι δυνώμεθα τῇ ἅπαξ παραδοθείσῃ τοῖς ἁγίοις πίστει· καὶ κατὰ τῶν νεωτερισμῶν καὶ ῥᾳδιουργιῶν ἀνδρικῶς στρατεύεσθαι, δι' ὧν ἡ Ἐκκλησία Θεοῦ ζῶντος ταν῀ν πολιορκεῖται· καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἀπιστίας καὶ ἀναρχίας αἷς αἱ τοῦ κόσμου πολιτεῖαι κινδυνεύουσιν οἱονεὶ κατακλυσμῷ τινι σαλευέσθαι καὶ βυθίζεσθαι· καὶ κατὰ τοῦ τύφου ἐκείνου πνευματικοῦ, καὶ ὑπερηφανίας ἀντιχριστιανικῆς, ἥτις ἐν ναῷ Θεοῦ καθίσασα ἑαυτὴν κατὰ Θεοῦ ὡς Θεὸς ἐπαίρεται, καὶ τυραννίδος τῆς ὅλης ἐκκλησίας ὀρέγεται· καὶ ἵνα ἐπὶ τῷ θεμελίῳ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν ἐποικοδομηθέντες, ὄντος ἀκρογωνιαίου αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, συναύξωμεν εἰς ναὸν ἅγιον ἐν Κυρίῳ.

Δῴη ὁ χρηστὸς Θεὸς τῇ Πανιερότητί σου εὐδαιμονίαν ἐν πᾶσιν, καὶ εὐοδίαν καὶ ἀσφαλῆ κάθοδον εἰς τὴν πατρίδα σου· καὶ διὰ πάντων τῶν χειμώνων καὶ θυελλῶν τοῦ ταραχώδους τούτου ἀνθρωπίνου βίου εἰς τὸν γαληνὸν καὶ ἀνήνεμον λιμένα τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς διασώσαι· ἧς ἡμῖν ἐπιτυχεῖν γένοιτο δι' Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν, ᾧ σὺν τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, ἑνὶ μόνῳ Θεῷ, πᾶσα δόξα καὶ κράτος καὶ κλέος εἴη ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ νῦν καὶ εἰς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

Ἐν Νοττιγγαμίᾳ,
τῇ Ὑπαπαντῃ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,
ετει ,αωύ Φεβρ. β'.

English Translation of the above.

To His Grace the Most Reverend Alexander Lycurgus, Archbishop of Syros and Tenos,—

We, the Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and faithful of the Anglican Catholic Church, assembled by the mercy of God on the Festival of the Presentation in the Temple for the Consecration of our beloved and right reverend brother Henry, Bishop Suffragan of the ancient and famous City of Nottingham, greet with much joy and veneration the

welcome presence of your Grace, as a sure and loving pledge and ever earnest of the brotherly love and sympathy of the Eastern Orthodox Church.

We recognized with much pleasure the very friendly and benevolent letter recently addressed by his Holiness Gregory, Patriarch of Constantinople, to the Most Reverend Metropolitan of this Province, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and we earnestly pray the Almighty and most merciful God, that by the intercession of the One Mediator, His well-beloved Son, Jesus Christ, and by the gracious supply of the Holy Spirit, we may be strengthened by his Might, and that being knit together with you in closer bonds of love, and with all in all regions of the world being perfected with purity and sincerity in the unity of the Spirit and bond of peace, we may contend valiantly together with you, as good soldiers of Jesus Christ, having one and the same Captain of our Salvation, and one and the same banner, His most precious Cross, and holding fast and immoveably the holy and divinely inspired Scripture, and walking orderly, according to the decrees of the ancient and genuine Universal Synods, we may be enabled to contend earnestly for the Faith once for all delivered to the Saints, and to war bravely against the novelties and crafts by which the Church of the living God is assailed, and against the Infidelity and Anarchy by which the Civil Governments of the World are now in danger of being overwhelmed as by a flood; and against that Spiritual Pride and Antichristian Arrogance which sets itself up in the Church of God as if it were God, and is grasping at a tyranny over the whole Church; and in order that we—being built on the foundation of Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief Corner Stone—may grow together into a holy temple in the Lord.

May the Gracious God grant to your Grace prosperity in all things, and a good journey and safe return to your own country; and may He guide you safely through all the storms and tempests of this troublesome world to the calm and waveless harbour of eternal life, to which may we all come, through Jesus Christ our Lord, to Whom, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, One only God, be all honour

and might, and glory in the holy Church, now and for evermore. Amen.

The Archbishop replied to these words in an Address which is printed in his Biography by F. M. F. Skene, p. 157, and from which the following extracts, in an English translation, are given in that work, p. 91.

After speaking of the emotion he felt at the brotherly affection shown by the English towards the Orthodox Church, he continued thus:—"I bless the most holy name of the Lord that the presence of my humility in the midst of you has effected something for the quickening of that love which the Epistle of the most holy Œcumenic Patriarch Gregory to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury has kindled so brightly in your hearts, full of love to Christ. I fervently pray to the Lord that daily being established and advancing in this love, we may be foremost in this unanimity . . . . and give the watchword of that unity which is so much to be desired and prayed for, and may join together the seamless robe of Christ our Saviour, which has been rent so shamefully—that robe which, after having been torn in various ways by Arians, Macedonians, Nestorians, Eutychians, Dioscorians, and the rest of the band of heretics of evil name, is even now rent more and more, after their example, by the arrogance of the Latin Church, which, on the one hand, impiously and licentiously aspires to the divine glory, distracts the peace of all the Church, and tears asunder the bond of union in Christ; and, on the other hand, by that spirit of ill-conceived liberty according to which all the bands of the ancient Church are severed with a daring hand, and the everlasting landmarks which our fathers set are being removed, and the whole form of the one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church is subverted, and a single branch of the Church represents itself as if it were the whole body, and with another kind of arrogance claims universal headship."

Before the Archbishop left England he wrote the following letter to the Bishop of Lincoln:—

Ἐν Λονδίνῳ, τῇ $\frac{14}{26}$ Μαρτίου, 1870.

Σεβασμιώτατε καὶ ἀγαπητὲ ἐν Χριστῷ ἀδελφὲ, τὴν ὑμετέραν περισπούδαστόν μοι Σεβασμιότητα ἀδελφικῶς ἐν Κυρίῳ κατασπαζόμενος ὑπερήδιστα προσαγορεύω.

Ἤλπισα μὲν καὶ αὖθις ἐν Λονδίνῳ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἰδεῖν καὶ ἀσπάσασθαι Σεβασμιότητα· ἀλλ' ἐψεύσθην, ὡς μήποτ' ὤφελον, τῆς ἐλπίδος, καὶ τἄλλα πάντα λαμπρῶς εὐτυχήσας πανταχοῦ τῆς ἐνδόξου καὶ τρισολβίου ὑμῶν πατρίδος, τοῦτο μόνον ἠτύχησα ὅτι ἀπερχομένῳ μοι εἰς τὰ ἴδια οὐκ ἐξεγένετο τὸν ἄριστον ἄνδρα καὶ ἄριστον ἐμοὶ φίλον αὖθις περιπτύξασθαι, οὗ τὴν παιδείαν καὶ ἀρετὴν οὐδέποτε παύσομαι θαυμάζων, καὶ ἐγκάρδιον τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀγάπην καὶ εὐγνωμοσύνην διατηρῶν. Οὐ γὰρ ἐμὲ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ὀρθόδοξον Ἀνατολικὴν Ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ σύμπαν τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔθνος εἰλικρινῶς καὶ ἀδόλως ἀγαπᾷ καὶ τιμᾷ. Ἤλγησα μὲν οὖν τῆς ἐλπίδος ἐκείνης ψευσθεὶς, ἀλλ' ἀρκοῦσαν ἔχω παραμυθίαν αὐτὴν τὴν καρδίαν μου πανταχοῦ καὶ πάντοτε τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀγάπην συμπεριάγουσαν, καὶ πάντα τὸν πολύτιμον ὑμῶν οἶκον ἐν ᾧ τοσαύτης ἀπήλαυσα ξενίας καὶ εἰλικρινοῦς δεξιώσεως. Ἀποστέλλων δὲ πρὸς τὴν ὑμετέραν Σεβασμιότητα φωτογράφητον τὴν εἰκόνα μου, ἀδελφοῦ ἐν Χρίστῳ καὶ εἰλικρινοῦς φίλου μνημόσυνον, πολλὰ ὑμῶν δέομαι, φιλων ἄριστε καὶ περιπόθητε ἀποστεῖλαί μοι τάχιστα καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀντίδωρον ἐμοὶ προσφιλέστατόν τε καὶ ποθεινότατον. Ἅμα δὲ τῇ εἰκόνι καὶ τὴν ἐν Νοττιγγαμίᾳ γενομένην ἀντιφώνησίν μου συναποστέλλω. Ἐκ μέσης δὲ ψυχῆς τῇ τε πολυσεβάστῳ καὶ πολυτίμῳ ὑμῶν συζύγῳ καὶ τοῖς ὑμετέροις τέκνοις ἄφθονον τὴν ἐξ ὕψους εὐλογίαν ἐπικαλούμενος, οὐδέποτε παύουμαι ὑμῖν τὰ προσήκοντα ἐπιστέλλων, καὶ τὸν ἐν Χριστῷ ἀσπασμὸν ἀπονέμων. Ἄπειμι δὲ, Θεοῦ θέλοντος, τὴν προσεχῆ τρίτην (κδ' Μαρτίου) εὐθὺ εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν, ἔνθα τῷ Παναγιωτάτῳ Οἰκουμενικῷ πατριάρχῃ τά τε ἄλλα ἃ εἶδον καὶ ἤκουσα ἐνταῦθα, περιχαρὴς ἀπαγγελῶ, καὶ πάντων μάλιστα τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀγάπην, τοῦ καλοῦ κἀγαθοῦ φιλορθοδόξου τε καὶ φιλέλληνος, διὰ μακροῦ τῇ Αὐτοῦ Παναγιότητι διερμηνεύσω. Καὶ ὅλως ἀγαπητέ μοι ἐν Χριστῷ ἀδελφε, οὐδὲν ἐλλείψω, ὅση μοι δύναμις, τοῦ συνεργεῖν πρὸς τὴν θεάρετον σκοπὸν τῆς τῶν Ἐκκλησίων ἑνώσεως. Τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν· τοῦτο ἡ ὀρθόδοξος ἡμῶν Ἀνατολικὴ Ἐκκλησία νυκτὸς

καὶ ἡμέρας δεομένη εὔχεται· τοῦτο πάντες οἱ κατὰ Χριστὸν διανοούμενοι καὶ ζῶντες ἐπιζητοῦσι· καὶ τεύξονται δὲ τοῦ ζητουμένου, εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι, χάριτι καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐνανθρωπήσαντος καὶ παθόντος. Ἐκείνου δὲ τὴν εὐλογίαν ἐπὶ τὸν ὑμέτερον αὖθις οἶκον ἐπικαλούμενος διατελῶ.

Τῆς ὑμετέρας περισπουδάστου μοι Σεβασμιότητος ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ ἀγαπητὸς ἀδελφὸς καὶ εὐγνώμων,

Ὁ τοῦ Σύρου καὶ Τήνου Ἀλέξανδρος.

Τῷ Σεβ. ἐπισκόπῳ Λιγκολνίας.

After his return to Greece, the Archbishop sent, as a token of friendship, to the Bishop of Lincoln, a present of Cameos of mother-of-pearl representing the Birth, Baptism, and Resurrection of our Blessed Lord, and a bas-relief of the Transfiguration; and a gift of rings and chains for members of the Bishop's family; together with Greek honey and Eastern sweetmeats. This courteous remembrance of friendly intercourse in England gave rise to the following acknowledgment from Riseholme, July 15th, 1871.

ΤΩι ΠΑΝΙΕΡΩΤΑΤΩι ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΩι ΣΥΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝΟΥ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΩι
ΧΡΙΣΤΟΦΟΡΟΣ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΛΙΓΚΟΛΝΙΑΣ
ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ ΕΝ ΚΥΡΙΩΙ.

Χαῖρέ μοι Ἑλλήνων λογιώτατε, χαῖρε κράτιστε
Ἀρχιερεῦ, σεμνῆς ἄνθος ὁμηλικίης.
Δῶρά σεθεν χαρίεντα, σοφῆς τεχνάσματα χειρός,
ἡσπασάμην ἱλαρῶν ἀγκαλίσιν παπίδων.
Μικτὰ δίδως ξουθῶν ἡδύσμασιν ἔργα μελισσῶν,
ἡδυλόγου γλώσσης σύμβολα, καὶ φιλίας·
Θαύματ' ἐδωρήσω λευκαῖς τετυπωμένα κόγχαις,
ἀγλαὰ σημείων δείγματα θεσπεσίων.
Τὸν ΘΕΟΝ *ἔκ τε* ΘΕΟΥ *γεννώμενον* ΑΝΔΡΑ *θεωρῶ,*
ἄφθιτον ἐκ θανάτου πρωτότοκον νεκύων.
Ἐνσάρκου βάπτισμα ΛΟΓΟΥ *καὶ ῥεῦμα δέδορκα*
ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΟΣ *ἁγνισθὲν ζωοδότου χάριτι·*

Θαυμάζω **ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ** δόξῃ στίλβοντα φαεινῇ
εἵματα, καὶ φωνὴν σχιζομένης νεφέλης.
Δακτυλίους, ὅρμους τε, φίλης ἑνότητος ἄγαλμα,
γηθοσύναις παρὰ σοῦ χερσὶν ἐδεξάμεθα.
Ω ΘΕΟΣ εἰρήνης, δοίης δεσμοῖσιν ἑνοῦσθαι
Ἄγγλους Ἕλλησιν τῆς ἀγάπης ἀλύτοις·
Εἴθε μίαν Πίστιν, μίαν Ἐλπίδα, συντηροῦντες
συνναίοιμεν ἀεὶ πατρίδ' ἐπουρανίαν.

These lines have been translated into English as follows:—

Hail! highest cultured Greek, excelling Primate hail!
Thou Flower of Reverend Peers,
These graceful gifts of thine, the works of skilful hand,
My heart's embrace endears.
These niceties, with honeyed sweetness mingled, are,
Like thy sweet accents, dear;
These wondrous gravures, on white pearly shells of thine,
Bright types of heaven appear.
Him "God of God" and Man I view, th' Eternal, here
The First-born of the Dead;
I see th' Incarnate Word baptized, the hallowed Dove,
The quickening Spirit shed.
I view admiring Christ in glory, glistering robes,
The Cloud with opening Voice;
These rings and chains of thine, that figure Unity,
Accepting I rejoice.
O God of Peace, with bonds of love insoluble,
Make Greek and English one.
Oh may they both, one Faith and Hope still holding, share
Thy heaven on earth begun!

W. F. Hobson.

THE LATE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY (ARCHBISHOP LONGLEY) AND THE GREEK CHURCH.

In a preceding page, mention has been made of the desire of two Archbishops of Canterbury, in the present century, Archbishop Howley, and Archbishop Longley, to cultivate friendly relations with the Eastern Church. Let me now ask leave to *go back* more than *two years* in my narrative.

After the Lambeth Conference in 1867, I received a communication from Archbishop Longley (dated at Whitby, on Oct. 7, 1867), requesting me to translate into Greek the Pastoral Letter, adopted and subscribed by the Seventy-six Bishops of that Conference, and to prefix to it some introductory words in his Grace's name, to the Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, and Clergy, and Laity of the Eastern Church.

In obedience to his Grace's commands, the following Letter and Translation were written, and sent, in order that the members of the Eastern Church might know what the position of the Anglican Church is (extended throughout the most distant regions of the world), and how it is everywhere united in holding the true Faith, as delivered in Holy Scripture, and as interpreted by the consent and practice of the Ancient Holy Catholic Church.

ΕΓΚΥΚΛΙΟΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ *Ἐπισκόπων ἐν Ἀγγλίᾳ συνηθροισμένων μηνὶ Σεπτεμβρίῳ ἔτει* 1867, *συσταθεῖσα δι'* Ἐπιστολῆς ΚΑΡΟΛΟΥ ΘΩΜΑ, *Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Καντουαρίας, Πρώτου ὅλης τῆς Ἀγγλίας, καὶ Μητροπολίτου, πρὸς τοὺς πανιερωτάτους Πατριάρχας, Μητροπολίτας, Ἀρχιεπισκόπους, Ἐπισκόπους, Πρεσβυτέρους, Διακόνους καὶ πιστοὺς ἀδελφοὺς τῆς ἀνατολικῆς ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας.*

Ἐν *τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ* ΠΑΤΡΟΣ, *καὶ τοῦ* ΥΙΟΥ, *καὶ τοῦ* ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΟΣ. *Ἀμήν.*

Τοῖς *Πατριάρχαις, Μητροπολίταις, Ἀρχιεπισκόποις, Ἐπισκόποις, Πρεσβυτέροις καὶ Διακόνοις, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγαπητοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, τῆς ἀνατολικῆς*

ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας, ΚΑΡΟΛΟΣ ΘΩΜΑΣ, Θείᾳ προνοίᾳ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Καντουαρίας, καὶ ὅλης τῆς Ἀγγλίας Πρῶτος, καὶ Μητροπολίτης, χαίρειν ἐν Κυρίῳ.

"Εἰ πάσχει ἓν μέλος," φησὶν ὁ ἅγιος Ἀπόστολος, "συμπάσχει πάντα τὰ μέλη, εἰ δοξάζεται ἓν μέλος, συγχαίρει πάντα τὰ μέλη." Τοιγαροῦν ἡμεῖς, συγκαλεσάμενοι εἰς σύλλογον τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἡμῶν Ἐπισκόπους τοῦ Ἀγγλικοῦ μέρους τῆς Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς τῆς οἰκουμένης κλίμασι, Θεοῦ χάριτι, αὐξανομένου, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν συνελθόντες κοινῶν προσευχῶν ἕνεκα καὶ συμβουλεύσεως, καὶ μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας καὶ φιλαδελφίας γράψαντες ΕΓΚΥΚΛΙΟΝ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΝ τοῖς συγκοινωνοῖς ἡμῶν Πρεσβυτέροις, Διακόνοις καὶ Λαϊκοῖς, γνωρίζομεν ὑμῖν, ὡς ἀδελφοῖς ἐν Κυρίῳ, τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν νεωστὶ πραχθέντα, ἵνα τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ὁμονοίᾳ συγχαρῆτε καὶ ὑμεῖς.

Ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἀντίγραφον τῆς Ἐπιστολῆς ὑμῖν ἐπέμψαμεν, ἵνα αὐτῇ ἐγκύπτοντες θεωρῆτε τί φρονεῖ ἡ Ἀγγλικανὴ Ἐκκλησία περὶ τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ πίστεως, καὶ ἵνα εἰδῆτε ὅτι ὁμολογοῦμεν καὶ Θεοῦ διδόντος ἐγνωκότες ἐσμὲν κρατεῖν ἀσφαλῶς καὶ ἀσαλεύτως πάσας τὰς κανονικὰς γραφὰς τῆς Παλαιᾶς καὶ Καινῆς Διαθήκης, ὡς βέβαιον Θεοῦ λόγον, καὶ ἐπαγωνίζεσθαι τῇ ἅπαξ παραδοθείσῃ τοῖς ἁγίοις πίστει, καὶ τὰ Σύμβολα κατέχειν τῆς μιᾶς ἁγίας καὶ ἀποστολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας, καὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν αὐτῆς τάξιν καὶ θρησκείαν τηρεῖν καθαρὰν καὶ ἄσπιλον, καθὼς ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ Σωτῆρος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων Αὐτοῦ ἀποστόλων, παρειλήφαμεν· καὶ ὅτι μιᾷ γνώμῃ καὶ μιᾷ φωνῇ πάντας νεωτερισμοὺς καὶ ῥαδιουργίας παρὰ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ, Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ καὶ Ἀνθρώπου ἀληθινοῦ, ἀπορριπτομεν καὶ ἀπωθούμεθα, καὶ ὅτι τὸ σωτήριον Αὐτοῦ κήρυγμα πανταχοῦ τῆς γῆς πληροφορῆσαι σπουδάζομεν, ὅπως ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ κόσμου γένηται τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ.

Δῴη ὁ Κύριος πᾶσιν ἐν πᾶσιν τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν, ἡγιασμένοις ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, ἵνα γένηται "μία ποίμνη, Εἷς Ποιμήν."

Ἐδόθη ἐν Παλατίῳ ἡμῶν Λαμβηθανῷ, ἔτει 1867, μηνὸς Νοεμβρίου ἡμέρᾳ 28.

ΕΓΚΥΚΛΙΟΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ

Ἐπισκόπων ἐν Ἀγγλίᾳ συνηθροισμένων, ἐν ἡμέραις 24—27 μηνὸς Σεπτεμβρίου, ἔτει 1867.

Τοῖς *πιστοῖς ἐν* Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, Πρεσβυτέροις, Διακόνοις *καὶ* λαϊκοῖς *τῆς τοῦ* Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησίας, *συγκοινωνοῖς τοῦ* Ἀγγλικοῦ *μέρους τῆς* Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας, *χαίρειν ἐν* Κυρίῳ.

Ἡμεῖς *οἱ ὑπογράψαντες* Ἐπίσκοποι, *τῇ ἀγαθῇ τοῦ* Θεοῦ *προνοίᾳ ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐπισυνηγμένοι, κοινῶν προσευχῶν ἕνεκα καὶ συμβουλεύσεως, ἐν τῷ τῆς* Καντουαρίας Ἀρχιεπισκόπου παλατίῳ Λαμβηθανῷ, *δεόμεθα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἵνα λάβητε χάριν,* ἔλεος, *καὶ εἰρήνην ἀπὸ* Θεοῦ Πατρὸς, *καὶ* Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ *τοῦ* Σωτῆρος *ἡμῶν.*

Εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ Θεῷ, *ἀδελφοὶ ἀγαπητοὶ, ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν ἐν* Κυρίῳ *ἡμῶν* Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, *καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀγάπης εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους, ἥτις ἐπερίσσευσεν ἐν ὑμῖν, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς* Χριστοῦ *ἐπιγνώσεως, ἣ δι' ὑμῶν ἐξήχηται ἐν τοῖς ἀνδρειοτάτοις τῆς οἰκουμένης ἔθνεσιν· καὶ ἑνὶ στόματι δεήσεις ποιούμεθα πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν καὶ Πατέρα, ἵνα τῇ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος δυνάμει σθενώσῃ ἡμᾶς τῇ ἰσχύι Αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὸ ἐπανορθῶσαι τὰ παραπίπτοντα, καὶ τὰ λείποντα ἀναπληρῶσαι, καὶ ἐπεκτείνεσθαι εἰς ὑψηλότερα ἀγάπης μέτρα καὶ ζήλου ἐν τῷ λατρεύειν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐν τῷ γνωρίζειν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ· καὶ προσευχόμεθα ἵνα ἐν τῷ δεκτῷ αὐτοῦ καιρῷ ἀποδῷ τῇ ὅλῃ Αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ τὸ μακαριστὸν χάρισμα τῆς ἑνότητος ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ.*

Καὶ νῦν, ἀδελφοὶ, παρακαλοῦμεν ὑμᾶς ἐν ἀγάπῃ, ἵνα τηρῆτε ὁλόκληρον καὶ ἀδιάφθορον τὴν ἅπαξ παραδοθεῖσαν τοῖς ἁγίοις πίστιν, καθὼς αὐτὴν παρειλήφατε ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ. *Ἐρωτῶμεν ὑμᾶς ἵνα γρηγορῆτε καὶ προσεύχησθε, καὶ ἀγωνίζησθε εὐκαρδίως μεθ' ἡμῶν κατὰ τῶν πανουργιῶν καὶ μεθοδειῶν, δι' ὧν ἡ πίστις τὸ πρὶν καὶ ἐν τῷ νῦν παρόντι χρόνῳ πορθεῖται.*

Παρακαλοῦμεν ὑμᾶς ἵνα ἀσφαλῶς κρατῆτε, ὡς βέβαιον Θεοῦ *λόγον, πάσας τὰς κανονικὰς γραφὰς τῆς Παλαιᾶς καὶ τῆς Καινῆς Διαθήκης, καὶ ἵνα, σπουδαίως ἐρευνῶντες ταῦτα τὰ λόγια τοῦ* Θεοῦ, *ἐν Πνεύματι Ἁγίῳ προσευχόμενοι, ζητῆτε περισσοτέρως γνῶναι τὸν Κύριον καὶ Σωτῆρα* Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, Θεὸν

ἀληθινὸν καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἀληθινὸν, ᾧ πάντοτε προσκυνεῖν δεῖ καὶ λατρεύειν, ὃν αἱ γραφαὶ ἡμῖν ἀποκαλύπτουσιν, καὶ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸ ἐν αὐταῖς φανερούμενον.

Ἅμα δὲ ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοὶ, διαμαρτυρόμεθα, φυλάξατε ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ὑμετέρους ἀπὸ τῶν ἀεὶ αὐξανομένων ἐθελοθρησκειῶν καὶ ἐπιβλημάτων, δι' ὧν ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀλήθεια ἐν τοῖς ὑστέροις τούτοις χρόνοις παραπέπλασται, ἄλλως τε καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τῆς ἀντιποιήσεως μοναρχίας οἰκουμενικῆς, κατακυριευούσης τοῦ κλήρου τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἧς ἀξιοῦται παρά τισιν ἡ Ῥώμης καθέδρα· ἔτι δὲ διὰ τῆς ἐνεργοῦ ὑπεράρσεως τῆς μακαρίας Παρθένου Μαρίας εἰς τόπον Μεσίτου, ἀντὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ αὐτῆς αὐτοθέου, καὶ διὰ προσευχῶν αὐτῇ προσφερομένων ὡς ἐντυγχανούσῃ ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων παρὰ Θεῷ. Προσέχετε ἀπὸ τοιούτων, εἰδότες ὅτι τὴν τιμὴν ἑαυτοῦ οὐχ ἑτέρῳ δίδωσιν ὁ ζηλωτὴς Θεός.

Ἐποικοδομεῖσθε οὖν, ἀγαπητοὶ, ἐπὶ τῇ ἁγιωτάτῃ ὑμῶν πίστει· αὐξάνεσθε ἐν χάριτι καὶ γνώσει καὶ ἀγάπῃ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Καταδείξατε ἐνώπιον πάντων, διὰ τῆς πίστεως, αὐταπαρνήσεως, ἁγνείας, καὶ εὐσεβοῦς ἀναστροφῆς, ἅμα δὲ διὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων κόπων ὑπὲρ τῶν λαῶν ἐν οἷς ὁ Θεὸς ὑμᾶς εἰς τοσοῦτον εὖρος διαπεφύτευκε, καὶ διὰ τοῦ κηρύγματος τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τοῖς ἀπίστοις καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ὅτι τῷ ὄντι ἐστὲ δοῦλοι Ἐκείνου, ὃς ἀπέθανεν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ἵνα καταλλάξῃ ἡμῖν τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ ἵνα θυσίαν Ἑαυτὸν ἀνενέγκῃ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου.

Ἀδελφοὶ ἀγαπητοὶ, μιᾷ φωνῇ νουθετοῦμεν ὑμᾶς· ὁ καιρὸς συνεσταλμένος· ὁ Κύριος ἔρχεται· γρηγορεῖτε, νήφετε. Στήκετε ἑδραῖοι ἐν τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῶν ἁγίων, ἐν ᾗ Θεὸς ὑμῖν μερίδα κεχάρισται· ζητεῖτε ἐν πίστει ἑνοῦσθαι τῷ Χριστῷ ἐν τῷ εὐλογημένῳ μυστηρίῳ τοῦ σώματος Αὐτοῦ καὶ αἵματος. Κατέχετε στερεῶς τὰ Σύμβολα, καὶ τὴν καθαρὰν θρησκείαν καὶ τάξιν, ἣν χάριτι Θεοῦ κεκληρονομήκατε ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆθεν ἐκκλησίας. Βλέπετε μὴ διχοστασίας ποιῆτε κατὰ τῆς διδαχῆς ἣν ἐμάθετε. Ἐρωτᾶτε καὶ διώκετε ἑνότητα ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς πιστοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ· καὶ ὁ χρηστὸς Κύριος τελειώσαι ὑμᾶς, καὶ τηρήσαι ὑμῶν τὸ σῶμα, τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα, εἰς τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ. Ἀμήν.

C. T. Cantuar. ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, καὶ μητροπολίτης, καὶ πρῶτος ὅλης τῆς Ἀγγλίας.

M. G. Armagh. ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, καὶ μητροπολίτης, καὶ πρῶτος ὅλης τῆς Ἰβερνίας.

R. C. Dublin. *ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, κα μητροπολίτης, καὶ πρῶτος Ἰβερνίας.*
A. C. London. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
C. R. Winton. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
C. St. David's. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
J. Lichfield. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
S. Oxon. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
Thomas Vowler St. Asaph. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
A. Llandaff. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
John Lincoln. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
W. K. Sarum. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
John T. Norwich. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
J. C. Bangor. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
H. Worcester. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
C. J. Gloucester and Bristol. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
E. H. Ely. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
William Chester. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
T. L. Rochester. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
Horace Sodor and Mann. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
Samuel Meath. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
H. Kilmore. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
Charles Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghadoe. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
Robert Eden, Moray, Ross, Caithness. *ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ πρῶτος τῆς Σκωτικῆς ἐκκλησίας.*
Alexander Ewing, Argyll and the Isles. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
Charles Wordsworth, St. Andrew's, Dunkeld, and Dunblane. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
Thos. G. Suther, Aberdeen and Orkney. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
William S. Wilson, Glasgow and Galloway. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
Thomas B. Morrell, Edinburgh. *συνεπίσκοπος.*
F. Montreal, Canada. *μητροπολίτης.*
G. A. New Zealand. *μητροπολίτης.*
R. Capetown. *μητροπολίτης.*
Aubrey G. Jamaica. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
T. Barbados. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
J. Bombay. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
H. Nova Scotia. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
F. T. Labuan. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
H. Grahamstown. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
H. J. C. Christchurch. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
Mathew Perth. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
Benj. Huron. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
W. W. Antigua. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
E. H. Sierra Leone. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
T. N. Honolulu. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
J. T. Ontario. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
J. W. Quebec. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
W. J. Gibraltar. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
H. L. Dunedin. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
Edward, Orange River Free State. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
A. N. Niagara. *συνεπίσκοπος.*
William George Tozer. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
James B. Kelly, Newfoundland. *συνεπίσκοπος.*
S. Angl. Hierosol. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
John H. Hopkins. *ἐπίσκοπος προεδρεύων τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῶν ἡνωμένων ἐπαρχιῶν τῆς Ἀμερικῆς.*
Chas. P. McIlvaine, Ohio. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
Manton Eastburn, Massachusetts. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
J. Payne, Cape Palmas. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
H. J. Whitehouse, Illinois. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
Thomas Atkinson, North Carolina. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
Henry W. Lee, Iowa. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
Horatio Potter, New York. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
Thomas M. Clark, Rhode Island. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
Alexander Gregg, Texas. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
W. H. Odenheimer, New Jersey. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
G. T. Bedell, Ohio. *συνέπισκοπος.*
Henry C. Lay, Arkansas. *ἐπίσκοπος.*
Jos. C. Talbot, Indiana. *συνεπίσκοπος.*
Richard H. Wilmer, Alabama. *ἐπίσκοπος.*

Charles Todd Quintard, Tennessee. ἐπίσκοπος.
John B. Kerfoot, Pittsburg. ἐπίσκοπος.
J. P. B. Wilmer, Louisiana. ἐπίσκοπος.
C. M. Williams, China. ἐπίσκοπος.
J. Chapman. ἐπίσκοπος.
George Smith, late of Victoria (China). ἐπίσκοπος.
David Anderson, late of Rupert's Land. ἐπίσκοπος.
Edmund Hobhouse. ἐπίσκοπος.

The Original, as framed and adopted by the Lambeth Conference, and of which the above is a translation, was as follows :—

To the faithful in Christ Jesus, the Priests and Deacons, and the Lay Members of the Church of Christ in Communion with the Anglican Branch of the Church Catholic :—

We the undersigned Bishops, gathered under the good providence of God for prayer and conference at Lambeth, pray for you that ye may obtain grace, mercy, and peace from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour.

We give thanks to God, brethren beloved, for the faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love towards the Saints, which hath abounded amongst you; and for the knowledge of Christ which through you hath been spread abroad amongst the most vigorous races of the earth; and with one mouth we make our supplications to God, even the Father, that by the power of the Holy Ghost He would strengthen us with His might, to amend amongst us the things which are lacking, and to reach forth unto higher measures of love and zeal in worshipping Him, and in making known His name; and we pray that in His good time He would give back unto His whole Church the Blessed gift of Unity in Truth.

And now we exhort you in love that ye keep whole and undefiled the faith once delivered to the Saints, as ye have received it of the Lord Jesus. We entreat you to watch and pray, and to strive heartily with us against the frauds

and subtleties wherewith the faith hath been aforetime and is now assailed.

We beseech you to hold fast, as the sure word of God, all the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testament; and that by diligent study of these oracles of God, praying in the Holy Ghost, ye seek to know more of the Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour, very God and very Man, ever to be adored and worshipped, Whom they reveal unto us, and of the will of God, which they declare.

Furthermore, we entreat you to guard yourselves and yours against the growing superstitions and additions with which, in these latter days, the truth of God hath been overlaid; as otherwise, so especially by the pretension to universal sovereignty over God's heritage asserted for the See of Rome, and by the practical exaltation of the Blessed Virgin Mary as Mediator in the place of her Divine Son, and by the addressing of prayers to her as Intercessor between God and man. Of such beware, we beseech you, knowing that the jealous God giveth not His honour to another.

Build yourselves up, therefore, beloved, in your most holy faith; grow in grace and in the knowledge and love of Jesus Christ our Lord. Show forth before all men by your faith, self-denial, purity, and godly conversation, as well as by your labours for the people amongst whom God hath so widely spread you, and by the setting forth of His Gospel to the unbelievers and the heathen, that ye are indeed the servants of Him who died for us to reconcile His Father to us, and to be a sacrifice for the sins of the whole world.

Brethren beloved, with one voice we warn you: the time is short; the Lord cometh; watch and be sober. Abide steadfast in the Communion of Saints, wherein God hath granted you a place. Seek in faith for oneness with Christ in the blessed Sacrament of His Body and Blood. Hold fast the Creeds and the pure worship and order, which of God's grace ye have inherited from the Primitive Church. Beware of causing divisions contrary to the doctrine ye have received. Pray and seek for unity amongst yourselves, and amongst all the faithful in Christ Jesus; and the good Lord

make you perfect, and keep your bodies, souls, and spirits until the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ.

(*Signed*)

C. T. Cantuar.
M. G. Armagh.
R. C. Dublin.
A. C. London.
C. R. Winton.
C. St. David's.
J. Lichfield.
S. Oxon.
Thomas Vowler St. Asaph.
A. Llandaff.
John Lincoln.
W. K. Sarum.
John T. Norwich.
J. C. Bangor.
H. Worcester.
C. J. Gloucester and Bristol.
E. H. Ely.
William Chester.
T. L. Rochester.
Horace Sodor and Man.
Samuel Meath.
H. Kilmore.
Charles Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghadoe.

Robert Eden, D.D., Bishop of Moray, Ross, and Caithness, Primus.
Alexander Ewing, Bishop of Argyll and the Isles.
Charles Wordsworth, D.C.L., Bishop of St. Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dunblane.
Thos. G. Suther, Bishop of Aberdeen and Orkney.
William S. Wilson, Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway.
Thomas B. Morrell, Co-adjutor Bishop of Edinburgh.
F. Montreal, Metropolitan of Canada.
G. A. New Zealand, Metropolitan of New Zealand.
R. Capetown, Metropolitan of South Africa.
Aubrey G. Jamaica.
T. Barbadoes.
J. Bombay.
H. Nova Scotia.
F. T. Labuan.
H. Grahamstown.
H. J. C. Christchurch.
Matthew Perth.
Benj. Huron.
W. W. Antigua.
E. H. Sierra Leone.
T. N. Honolulu.
J. T. Ontario.
J. W. Quebec.
W. J. Gibraltar.
H. L. Dunedin.
Edward, Bishop Orange River Free State.
A. N. Niagara.
William George Tozer, Missionary Bishop.
James B. Kelly, Co-adjutor of Newfoundland.
S. Angl. Hierosol.

John H. Hopkins, Presiding Bishop of Pr. Ep. Church, in the United States.
Chas. P. McIlvaine, Bishop of Ohio.
Manton Eastburn, Bishop of Massachusetts.
J. Payne, Bishop of Cape Palmas and parts adjacent.
H. J. Whitehouse, Bishop of Illinois.
Thomas Atkinson, Bishop of North Carolina.
Henry W. Lee, Bishop of Iowa.
Horatio Potter, Bishop of New York.

Thomas M. Clark, Bishop of Rhode Island.
Alexander Gregg, Bishop of Texas.
W. H. Odenheimer, Bishop of New Jersey.
G. T. Beddell, Assistant Bishop of Ohio.
Henry C. Lay, Missionary Bishop of Arkanzas and the Indian Territory.
Jos. C. Talbot, Assistant Bishop of Indiana.
Richard H. Wilmer, Bishop of Alabama.
Charles Todd Quintard, Bishop of Tennessee.
John B. Kerfoot, Bishop of Pittsburg.
J. P. B. Wilmer, Bishop of Louisiana.
C. M. Williams, Missionary Bishop to China.

J. Chapman, Bishop.
George Smith, late Bishop of Victoria (China).
David Anderson, late Bishop of Rupert's Land.
Edmund Hobhouse, by Bishop of New Zealand.

The following Bishops who were not able to be present at the Conference, have since desired their Signatures to be annexed to the Pastoral Letter:—

A. T. Cicestr.
Auckland, Bath and Wells.
Robert Down and Connor.
William Derry.
Edward Newfoundland.
J. Fredericton.
T. E. St. Helena.
Piers C. Colombo.

In order that the Encyclic of the Lambeth Conference of 1867 might be generally circulated in the West as well as in the East, Bishop Lonsdale, then Bishop of Lichfield, had been requested by the Archbishop to translate it into Latin, but he was taken away from his Diocese and the Church to a better world[1] before he executed the work; and the Archbishop asked me to undertake it, which I did, and the following is the result:—

[1] "Of the seventy-six Bishops gathered at the Lambeth Conference in 1867, thirty are dead."—Bishop of Pennsylvania's Sermon in St. Paul's, after the Lambeth Conference of 1878, p. 19.

EPISTOLA ENCYCLICA

EPISCOPORUM IN ANGLIA CONGREGATORUM DIEBUS XXIV.—XXVII. MENSIS SEPTEMBRIS, ANNO SALUTIS MDCCCLXVII.

Fidelibus in Christo Jesu, Presbyteris, Diaconis, et Laicis, cum Anglicanâ parte Ecclesiæ Catholicæ communicantibus, salutem in Domino.

Nos, qui subscripsimus, Episcopi, benignâ Dei providentiâ communium orationum et consiliorum causâ unanimiter consociati, in Palatio Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis Lambethano, obsecrationes pro vobis facimus, ut gratiam, misericordiam et pacem consequamini a Deo Patre Nostro, et a Nostro Salvatore Domino Jesu Christo.

Gratias Deo agimus, fratres carissimi, propter fidem in Domino Jesu Christo, et in sanctos dilectionem, quæ abundavit in vobis; et propter Christi agnitionem, quæ per vos inter valentissimas orbis universi nationes dimanavit; et uno ore supplicationes offerimus Deo et Patri, ut potentiâ Spiritûs Sancti virtute Suâ nos confortet, ut, quæ sint apud nos depravata, emendare, et, quæ desint, supplere valeamus; et ut nosmet ipsos ad sublimiores dilectionis et zeli mensuras erigamus in Illo adorando, et in Nomine Ejus declarando; et enixè Eum apprecamur, ut, beneplacito Ipsius tempore, universæ Suæ Ecclesiæ beatum restituat donum Unitatis in Veritate.

Jam verò, fratres dilecti, vos in caritate cohortamur, ut fidem semel sanctis traditam integram atque illibatam conservetis, quemadmodum eam accepistis a Jesu Christo Domino Nostro. Obsecramus vos, vigilate, orate, et nobiscum toto corde certate contra fallacias atque argutias, quibus jampridem et in hoc ipso tempore fides impugnatur.

Obtestamur vos, constanter tenete, utpote firmum Dei Verbum, omnes Canonicas Scripturas Veteris et Novi Testamenti; et diligenti meditatione scrutantes hæc Dei Oracula, orantes in Spiritu Sancto, quæratis abundantiùs cognoscere Dominum Jesum Christum, Verum Deum et Verum Hominem, semper colendum atque adorandum, Quem nobis illa revelant, et Voluntatem Dei in eis patefactam.

Insuper vos obsecramus, vosmet ipsos et vestros custodite contra indies gliscentes superstitiones atque additamenta quibus in hisce novissimis temporibus Veritas Dei incrustatur; quùm in aliis, tùm præcipuè per universi principatûs affectationem, dominantis in clero Dei, qui Romanæ sedi a nonnullis asseritur; et per exaltationem, re ipsâ manifestam, Beatæ Virginis Mariæ in locum Mediatoris, vice Filii ipsius Divini, et per orationes ei oblatas tanquam inter Deum et homines Interpellatoris munere fungenti. Cavete a talibus, vos obtestamur, probè scientes honorem Suum Ipsius non alii dare Deum zelotem.

Superædificamini, igitur, fratres carissimi, sanctissimæ fidei vestræ; crescite in gratiâ et in agnitione et dilectione Jesu Christi Domini Nostri. Manifestum facite omnibus, per fidem, abstinentiam, puritatem et sanctam conversationem, et per vestros labores pro populis inter quos Deus vos tam latè propagavit, et per Evangelii prædicationem incredulis atque ethnicis, vos reverà esse servos Illius Qui mortuus est pro nobis ut Patrem nobis reconciliaret, et ut pro peccatis totius mundi sacrificium Semet Ipsum offerret.

Fratres dilecti, unâ voce vos admonemus. Tempus breve est. Dominus venit. Vigilate, sobrii estote. State firmi in communione sanctorum in quâ vobis Deus locum concessit. Studete fide coadunari Christo in sanctissimo Corporis Ejus et Sanguinis Sacramento. Firma tenete Symbola, et purum illum Cultum atque Ordinem, quem gratiâ Dei a primitivâ Ecclesiâ hæreditarium vos possidetis. Cavete ne discessiones faciatis præter doctrinam quam accepistis. Orate et sectamini Unitatem invicem et inter omnes fideles in Jesu Christo. Et Dominus misericors perficiat vos, et conservet integrum corpus, animam et spiritum vestrum, in Adventum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi. Amen.

C. T. Cantuar. Archiepiscopus, et Metropolitanus, et totius Angliæ Primas.
M. G. Armagh. Archiepiscopus, et Metropolitanus, et totius Hiberniæ Primas.
R. C. Dublin. Archiepiscopus, et Metropolitanus, et Hiberniæ Primas.
A. C. London. Episcopus.
C. R. Winton. Episcopus.
C. St. David's. Episcopus.
J. Lichfield. Episcopus.
S. Oxon. Episcopus.

Thomas Vowler St. Asaph. Episcopus.
A. Llandaff. Episcopus.
John Lincoln. Episcopus.
W. K. Sarum. Episcopus.
John T. Norwich. Episcopus.
J. C. Bangor. Episcopus.
H. Worcester. Episcopus.
C. J. Gloucester and Bristol. Episcopus.
E. H. Ely. Episcopus.
William Chester. Episcopus.
T. L. Rochester. Episcopus.
Horace Sodor and Mann. Episcopus.
Samuel Meath. Episcopus.
H. Kilmore. Episcopus.
Charles Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghadoe. Episcopus.
Robert Eden, Moray, Ross, Caithness. Episcopus, et Scoticæ Ecclesiæ Primas.
Alexander Ewing, Argyll and the Isles. Episcopus.
Charles Wordsworth, St. Andrew's, Dunkeld, and Dunblane. Episcopus.
Thos. G. Suther, Aberdeen and Orkney. Episcopus.
William S. Wilson, Glasgow and Galloway. Episcopus.
Thomas B. Morrell, Edinburgh. Coepiscopus.
F. Montreal, Canada. Metropolitanus.
G. A. New Zealand. Metropolitanus.
R. Capetown. Metropolitanus.
Aubrey G. Jamaica. Episcopus.
T. Barbados. Episcopus.
J. Bombay. Episcopus.
H. Nova Scotia. Episcopus.
F. T. Labuan. Episcopus.
H. Grahamstown. Episcopus.
H. J. C. Christchurch. Episcopus.
Mathew Perth. Episcopus.
Benj. Huron. Episcopus.
W. W. Antigua. Episcopus.
E. H. Sierra Leone. Episcopus.
T. N. Honolulu. Episcopus.
J. T. Ontario. Episcopus.
J. W. Quebec. Episcopus.
W. J. Gibraltar. Episcopus.
H. L. Dunedin. Episcopus.
Edward, Orange River Free State. Episcopus.
A. N. Niagara. Coepiscopus.
William George Tozer. Episcopus.
James B. Kelly, Newfoundland. Coepiscopus.
S. Angl. Hierosol. Episcopus.
John H. Hopkins. Episcopus et Præses Ecclesiæ Unitarum Americæ Provinciarum.
Chas. P. McIlvaine, Ohio. Episcopus.
Manton Eastburn, Massachusetts. Episcopus.
J. Payne, Cape Palmas. Episcopus.
H. J. Whitehouse, Illinois. Episcopus.
Thomas Atkinson, North Carolina. Episcopus.
Henry W. Lee, Iowa. Episcopus.
Horatio Potter, New York. Episcopus.
Thomas M. Clark, Rhode Island. Episcopus.
Alexander Gregg, Texas. Episcopus.
W. H. Odenheimer, New Jersey. Episcopus.
G. T. Bedell, Ohio. Coepiscopus.
Henry C. Lay, Arkansas. Episcopus.
Jos. C. Talbot, Indiana. Coepiscopus.
Richard H. Wilmer, Alabama. Episcopus.
Charles Todd Quintard, Tennessee. Episcopus.
John B. Kerfoot, Pittsburg. Episcopus.

J. P. B. Wilmer, Louisiana. Episcopus.
C. M. Williams, China. Episcopus.
J. Chapman. Episcopus.
George Smith, late of Victoria (China). Episcopus.
David Anderson, late of Rupert's Land. Episcopus.
Edmund Hobhouse. Episcopus.

In compliance with the Archbishop's desire, these Translations were very widely circulated, especially by the help of the Anglo-Continental Society, under the direction of the Secretary, the Rev. Frederick Meyrick, to whom the Society mainly owes its existence, its continuance, and efficiency for so many years. The Encyclic was also translated into the principal languages of the Continent.

In a letter to me (dated Addington Park, Nov. 23, 1867), the Archbishop wrote in the following words:—"I have heard from very reliable authority that the Roman Catholics, English and Foreign, consider the Conference of seventy-six Bishops in Communion with the Church of England, together with its published proceeding to be the greatest blow the Papacy has received for a long time." It is to be hoped that the Scriptural and Catholic principles of the Church were manifested thereby more clearly to the world, and that many were thus enabled to recognize the fact, that it is possible to be Catholic without being Roman, and to protest against Papal errors, without abandoning those articles of Scriptural and Primitive Truth which by God's mercy she still retains; and that the right principles and methods of Reformation are those which were adopted in the Sixteenth Century by the Church of England, reforming herself from within, not innovating into error, but conservative and restorative of truth.

Let me add in evidence of Archbishop Longley's friendly feelings towards the Eastern Church, that in July, 1868, the year after the Lambeth Conference, the last year of his life, I was commissioned by him to draw up a letter of Recommendation, written in his name, on behalf of the then Bishop of Gibraltar, Bishop Harris, to the Eastern Patriarchs, Archbishops, and Bishops, and the Holy Synod of Greece. The following form was approved by His Grace, and subscribed, sealed, and sent by him.

Ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος. Ἀμήν.

Τῷ παναγιωτάτῳ καὶ μακαριωτάτῳ Πατριάρχῃ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, νέας Ῥώμης, καὶ τοῖς πανιερωτάτοις Μητροπολίταις, Ἀρχιεπισκόποις καὶ Ἐπισκόποις τῆς ἀνατολικῆς ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας, καὶ τῇ ἁγίᾳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Συνόδῳ, Κάρολος Θωμᾶς, θείᾳ προνοίᾳ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Καντουαρίας, καὶ ὅλης τῆς Ἀγγλίας Πρῶτος, καὶ Μητροπολίτης, χαίρειν ἐν Κυρίῳ.

Γνωρίζομεν ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοὶ ἐν Χριστῷ ἀγαπητοὶ, διὰ τούτων τῶν γραμμάτων, ὅτι κεχειροτονήκαμεν, κεκυρώκαμεν καὶ καθιερώκαμεν ἐπίσκοπον τῆς ἁγίας καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας, τῆς ἐν Ἀγγλίᾳ πεφυτευμένης, τὸν τιμιώτατον καὶ φίλτατον ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν, ὀρθοδοξίᾳ πίστεως καὶ σεμνότητι βίου δεδοκιμασμένον, Κάρολον Ἀμίαντον Ἄρρις, ὃν καὶ ἀπεστάλκαμεν εἰς τὴν ἀνατολὴν, ἵνα ἐν τῇ ἐπισκοπικῇ καθέδρᾳ καταστα θεὶς τῆς παλαιᾶς Κάλπης, τῆς σημερινῆς Γιβιλτέρρας, Ἀγγλικῆς κολωνίας ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ θαλάσσῃ, ἐπισκοπῇ καὶ ποιμαίνῃ τοὺς τοῦ βρεταννικοῦ σκήπτρου ὑπηκόους, τοὺς ἐν ἀνατολικοῖς μέρεσι διεσπαρμένους, καὶ ἵνα τῇ Ὑμετέρᾳ Μακαριότητι τὴν ὀφειλομένην θεραπείαν καὶ φιλαδελφίαν ἐνδείξηται ἐν πᾶσιν.

Συνίσταμεν οὖν μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας τοῦτον τὸν ἡμέτερον ἀδελφὸν ὑμῖν, σεβαστοὶ καὶ ἀγαπητοὶ ἐν Κυρίῳ, καὶ ἐκτενῶς ὑμῶν δεόμεθα, ἵνα αὐτὸν φιλοφρόνως δέξησθε, καὶ παραστῆτε αὐτῷ ἐν ᾧ ἂν ὑμῶν χρήζῃ πράγματι, καὶ γὰρ ἄξιός ἐστι. Ἀσπαζόμεθα ὑμᾶς ἐν Κυρίῳ. Ἀμήν.

Ἐδόθη ἐν Παλατίῳ ἡμῶν Λαμβηθανῷ, καὶ ἐσημάνθη τῇ ἀρχιεπισκοπικῇ ἡμῶν σφραγῖδι, ἔτει σωτηρίῳ ,αωξή, μηνὶ Ἰουλίῳ, ἡμέρᾳ κά.

On October 27th, in the year 1868, the year after the Lambeth Conference, Archbishop Longley (who had presided over it and guided it with wisdom, dignity, gravity, and gentleness) entered into his rest. His Primacy will long be remembered as a great blessing to the Church, and his name will be cherished with affectionate veneration by all who had the privilege of intercourse with him.

May I be allowed to pass on to a personal reminiscence, suggested by the mention of his death.

On the 14th of the following month I received, unexpectedly, a letter from Mr. Disraeli (now Earl of Beaconsfield, K.G.), announcing a proposal to submit my name to the Queen for a place on the Episcopal Bench.

I requested time to consider it, and after some deliberation I wrote a letter asking for leave to be allowed to continue in the position which I then held,—as Canon and Archdeacon of Westminster, and Vicar of Stanford in the Vale, and Rural Dean in the Diocese of Oxford,—a position which gave ample opportunities for professional labour and study; and was all—and more than all—that in worldly respects I could reasonably desire. Besides, being more than threescore years of age, I shrank from the labours and responsibilities of the Episcopate. Some relatives, however, and friends thought fit to dissuade me from sending that letter; and after some misgivings I yielded to their urgency, and on November 17th, forwarded another letter to the Prime Minister, expressive of a respectful assent to that honourable proposal.

Being then resident at Westminster, I afterwards went on that day to the Abbey for Evening Prayer. The Anthem in that service was, "This is the day that the Lord hath made." I did not at first recognize the reason for the choice of that particular Anthem, but I soon recollected that the day, November 17, was the day of the Accession of Queen Elizabeth, the Foundress of the Collegiate Church of Westminster. On looking into the Prayer Book I also found that November 17, was marked in the Calendar as the day commemorative of one of the greatest Bishops of the See of Lincoln, S. Hugh. Thus the new was joined on to the old; and what was a remarkable coincidence, the Canonical house in which I then resided, and where I had lived for nearly a quarter of a century, at Westminster, adjoined the chapel of S. Catherine, in which S. Hugh was consecrated Bishop of Lincoln, on September 21, 1186, being St. Matthew's Day.[1]

On November 22nd I received the intelligence that Her

[1] See Prebendary Dimock's note in his excellent edition of the "Magna Vita S. Hugonis Episcopi Lincolniensis," p. 114.

Majesty had been graciously pleased to approve my nomination to the See of Lincoln, to which I was elected by the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln on Feb. 12 (at Lincoln all the Prebendaries, or non-residentiary Canons—more than fifty in number—have votes), and was confirmed by the Metropolitan of the Province on Feb. 22, and consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and nine of his Suffragans (London, Llandaff, Oxford, Bangor, Gloucester and Bristol, Ely, Rochester, Lichfield, Peterborough, and the Bishop of Labuan, and Bishop Ryan, in Westminster Abbey, on Feb. 24, St. Matthias Day, 1869 (when the Sermon was preached by the Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation, Dr. Bickersteth), and in that office I have now been permitted by Almighty God to serve (may He mercifully forgive the shortcomings, infirmities, and failures of that service) for about ten years.

THE VATICAN COUNCIL.

The Lambeth Conference was followed in the next year by the announcement of the summons of the approaching Vatican Council.

Having been invited by the Bishop of Oxford, Bishop Wilberforce (in whose Diocese I was a Parish Priest for nineteen years, at Stanford in the Vale, and Rural Dean of the Vale of White Horse), and with whom I lived in loving intercourse, to address the Candidates for Holy Orders, at his Ordination in September, 1868, I thought it might be seasonable to prepare their minds for that great event which seemed to me to threaten serious consequences, civil and religious, to Christendom.

The Bishop asked me to print the Address, which I did; and I here insert some extracts from it (its title was "On the proposed Council at Rome,") as follows :—

An event has been announced to take place next year, which may be fraught with more important results to Christendom than any that has occurred during the last three hundred years.

I refer to the Synod or Council which has been summoned[1] to meet in the city of Rome on the 8th day of December, 1869, the Roman Festival of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the anniversary of the promulgation of that dogma at Rome in the year 1854.

This Council is designated in the instrument of its convocation as a "*Sacred, Œcumenical, and General Council.*"

[1] By Pope Pius IX. in the Bull "*Æterni Patris,*" dated at Rome on the Festival of St. Peter and St. Paul, June 29, 1868.

The Papal Bull (called from its first words, "*Æterni Patris*"), which summoned this Council, was ushered in with the sound of trumpets, and read on the morning of the Festival of St. Peter and St. Paul, June 29, in the present year, in front of the Church of St. Peter at Rome. It purports to be a message from God; and declares that whosoever contravenes its mandates must expect to incur "the indignation of Almighty God, and of the blessed Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul."[2]

The Council which is summoned by it will probably consist of many hundreds of persons, Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops, and Heads of Monastic Orders; it will meet in St. Peter's at Rome, the noblest church in Christendom, in one of the most ancient and famous cities of the world; and it is the first Council of the kind that has met since the Council of Trent, three centuries ago.

The summoning of this Council indicates great confidence on the part of the Church of Rome. The Council of Trent was called, after many delays, by the Bishop of Rome, at the desire of Christian Princes, who were invited to it; but the present Council is convened by the Bishop of Rome by his own will and on his own authority, without any consent of any earthly ruler.[3]

[2] "Si quis hanc paginam nostræ indictionis, annuntiationis, convocationis, statuti, decreti, mandati, præcepti et obsecrationis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire præsumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei ac beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum Ejus se noverit incursurum." Such are its concluding words.

[3] It is a remarkable sign of the present times, that—whereas the Roman Catholic Council, which eventually met at Trent (A.D. 1545—1563), was due to Luther's appeal (A.D. 1518—1520), and was convoked by the Bishop of Rome, Paul III., after long delay on the part of his predecessors, especially Pope Clement VII., at the request of Christian Princes, and they were invited to it, (see the note below, p. 38, and Sarpi's "History of the Council of Trent," book i.)—the proposed Roman Council of 1869 is summoned by the Pope, not only independently of Christian Princes, but with a disregard and defiance of their authority.

The Church of Rome, it is evident, has much more confidence in her own power now, than she had three centuries ago. This has arisen from the weakening of National Churches and from the falling away of Nations from the supremacy of Christ. The Christian hierarchy has been repelled from their national centres, and has been attracted towards Rome.

Let us confess with thankfulness to God that the Œcumenical or General Councils of the ancient Church were, under God's blessing, the means of conferring inestimable benefits on Christendom. A truly Œcumenical Council is what we and all Christendom may well desire to see.

But what do we mean by an Œcumenical or General Council? How is it to be defined? and does the proposed Council at Rome satisfy the conditions contained in that definition?

A Council cannot be said to be *General*, by reason of the large number of Bishops and others gathered together in it.

The Church of Rome acknowledges this proposition. She agrees with us in recognizing the Council of Nicæa (A.D. 325) and of Constantinople (A.D. 381) as General Councils, but she does not acknowledge as such the Council of Ariminum (A.D. 363), which contained more Bishops; and she rejects some of the decrees[4] of the Council of Constance (A.D. 1414—1418), which was more numerous than several Councils which she calls General.

A Council may indeed style itself a General Council, if it is lawfully convened from different parts of Christendom, and if its members are free, and if they are resolved to proceed on sound principles and in a lawful manner. But to speak

Democracy and Infidelity have advanced the cause of Ultramontanism, and are doing the work of Hildebrand.

Such phenomena as these clearly show that Rome will yet be enabled to make a great struggle in Christendom; and perhaps she will fall a victim to the terrible fury of that infidel Antichristianism, which, by her antagonism to the supremacy of Christ, she herself has strengthened.

The true Church, which cleaves to Christ, awaits the issue with calmness, but with sorrow.

[4] The decrees asserting the supremacy of a General Council over the Pope. Those decrees of Constance are now rejected by most Roman Catholic writers: see *Cardinal Bellarmine*, "De Conciliis" (ii. 7 and ii. 17), "Summus Pontifex simpliciter et absolutè est suprà Ecclesiam Universam, et suprà Concilium Generale;" although Pope Martin V. assented to them (Sess. 45, A.D. 1418) when he declared, "Quòd omnia et singula determinata conclusa et decreta in materiis fidei per præsens Sacrum Concilium Constantiense conciliariter tenere et inviolabiter observare volebat, et nunquam contraire quoquam modo."

more accurately, *no Council* can be predicated *à priori* to be a *General or Œcumenical Council.*

The proof of its Generality or Œcumenicity is derived *à posteriori* from the *reception* of its dogmatic decrees by the *general consent of Christendom.* The Councils of Nicæa, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon are rightly called General Councils, because their dogmatic decrees have been *generally received*—and are received to this day—by the *Eastern and Western Churches.* In those dogmatic decrees, and in the Confessions of Faith promulgated by them and received by the whole Body of Christ, we recognize a fulfilment of His promise to His Church that He would send to her the Holy Ghost the Comforter, to abide with her for ever, and to teach her all things, and to guide her into all truth.[5]

But although we cannot predicate *à priori* that any given Council will be a General one—because we cannot foresee whether its dogmatic decrees will be generally received—we *can* pronounce *à priori* that some Councils *can never* be rightly termed General Councils, by reason of certain defects which invalidate them *ab initio.*

Such defects are as follows:—

A Council cannot be a General One, if there is anything vicious in the manner of its convocation; it cannot be a General Council, if there is anything vicious in its constitution; it cannot be a General Council, if there is anything vicious in the principles on which its members will proceed; and lastly, it cannot be a General Council, if its dogmatic decrees will not be generally received.

I do not hesitate to affirm that all these defects are to be found in the proposed Council, which has been summoned to meet at Rome on the 8th of December, 1869.

(1.) First, as to the manner of Convocation and the person convoking it.

All the General Councils of the Ancient Church were convoked with the consent and by the authority of Christian Princes; and there was no instance of a Council claiming

[5] John xiv. 26; xvi. 13.

to be General, convoked by the Bishop of Rome on his own mere motion, for more than a thousand years after Christ.[6]

But in convoking the proposed Council, the Bishop of Rome sets the authority of Christian Princes at defiance. He exalts himself above them all. He declares in the writ of summons that all those, who are expected to attend the Council, are bound to appear at Rome in the place and on the day appointed, under certain penalties;[7] and that they are obliged to this attendance by reason of the simple fact

[6] See the XXIst of our Thirty-nine Articles; and compare *Bp. Andrewes'* "Sermon on the Right and Power of calling Assemblies" (on Numb. x. 1, 2). Works, vol. v. pp. 158—168; and his "Tortura Torti," p. 165. *Dr. Field*, on the Church, Book V. ch. 52; *Theophilus Anglicanus*, Pt. III. ch. vi.

The Council of Nicæa was convoked by the Emperor Constantine.
„ Constantinople „ Theodosius,
„ Ephesus „ Theodosius the Younger and Valentinian,
„ Chalcedon „ Valentinian and Marcian,

and so the rest for a thousand years after Christ. See *Bp. Andrewes*, "Sermon," p. 166, and the second Book of *Sarpi's* "History of the Council of Trent," on A.D. 1545.

This was acknowledged by the Popes themselves in the seventh century. See the "Liber Diurnus Romanorum Pontificum," (described below, p. 320), in which are the following words:—"Concilium in Nicæâ sub magno principe Constantino convenit;—Constantinopolitanum sub imperialis memoriæ majore Theodosio—quibus tertium generale accessit Concilium quod sub principalis memoriæ Theodosio Augusto factum est; ex autoritate tamen Cœlestini Apostolicæ sedis Antistitis cum beato Cyrillo Alexandrinæ Ecclesiæ præsule in Ephesinam urbem convenit . . . Quartum Concilium sub augustæ memoriæ Marciano imperatore in Chalcedona concurrit, in quo apostolicus Papa per legatos et vicarias præfuit. Hæc quintum Concilium assecutum est, et sub piæ memoriæ Justiniano principe apud Constantinopolitanam urbem est congregatum. Sanctum sextum Concilium universale, favente Deo et votum Domini Constantini clementer implente, in urbe regiâ, eo præsidente celebratum est, cui apostolicæ recordationis Agatho Papa per legatos suos præfuit." These are all the General Councils to the beginning of the seventh century, when the "Liber Diurnus" was framed in its present form.

[7] The words of the Papal Bull are—"Volumus, jubemus, omnes ex omnibus locis Patriarchas, Archiepiscopos, Abbates . . . . ad hoc Œcumenicum Concilium venire debere, requirentes, hortantes, ac vi *juris-jurandi*, quod Nobis et huic sanctæ sedi præstiterunt, ac sanctæ obedientiæ virtute, et sub pœnis jure aut consuetudine in celebrationibus Conciliorum adversus non accedentes ferri et proponi solitis."

that the Bull of Convocation has been posted in certain specified places in the City of Rome.[8] He assumes to himself the right of commanding the subjects of all the Sovereign Princes of Christendom to quit their own country, and to attend on himself, and to remain in attendance upon him (the sessions at Trent were continued for twelve years) till he has discharged them. If Sovereigns have need of their services, they must forego their claims on their allegiance, and must surrender their subjects to the superior authority of the Bishop of Rome. In a word, by this act, the Bishop of Rome places his foot on the necks of all the Princes of Christendom.

(2.) Secondly, the members of a General Council ought to be free; otherwise their voices are worth nothing; they are mere ciphers. All the General Councils of Ancient Christendom consisted of persons pledged only to maintain "the Faith once for all delivered to the Saints."[9]

But none of the members of the proposed Council of Rome are free men. They are all bound by an Oath,[1]—an Oath never heard of in Ancient Christendom,—an Oath which, in its present form, is not three centuries old,[2] an

[8] The Vatican, Lateran, and Liberian Basilicas, the church of S. Maria Maggiore, the Palazzo di Monte Citorio, the Campo di Flora, and the Cancellaria Apostolica, &c.; and he declares that every one who is expected to appear is as much bound as if he was personally present when the writ of summons was posted up at those places. "Post spatium duorum mensium a die Litterarum publicationis et affixionis ita volumus obligatos esse et adstrictos, ac si ipsismet illæ coram lectæ et intimatæ essent."

To obviate the comparison between the proposed Roman Council of 1869 and the Lambeth Conference of 1867, it may be observed that the Archbishop of Canterbury did not summon Bishops from foreign parts to a Synod under penalties for non-attendance, but invited them as brethren; and that they came together as free men, bound by no pledge but to maintain the Catholic Faith.

[9] Jude 3.

[1] Which may be seen in the "Roman Pontifical," printed at Rome A.D. 1818, p. 62.

[2] In its present form it dates from the Pontificate of Clement VIII. A.D. 1592—1605. Concerning the alterations in it the reader may refer to *Dr. Barrow* on the Pope's Supremacy, Introduction, p. 36; *Theophilus Anglicanus*, Pt. II. ch. iv.

Oath by which they engage themselves "to defend and maintain the Roman Papacy and the royalties of St. Peter" —the "*regalia Sancti Petri*"—(a phrase altered from the older words, "*regulas Sanctorum Patrum*") "against all men;" that is, to defend and maintain the Papal Supremacy; "to defend, augment, and advance the rights, honours, and privileges and authority of the holy Roman Church and of their lord the Pope." And they have pledged themselves by that oath to "*persecute and impugn with all their might*" all whom they call "*heretics, schismatics, and rebels against their lord the Pope;*"[3] that is, all who do not and cannot acknowledge his supremacy, which subverts the supremacy of Christ.

Must it not therefore be said, that unless they renounce that unrighteous oath, they will come to the Council at Rome as captives in chains. When they enter it, the Bishop of Rome may flatter them with the illusory dream that they are in the bark of St. Peter; but they will be there as galley-slaves, chained to the oar.

(3.) Thirdly, in the General Councils of Ancient Christendom, the Holy Gospels were placed on a royal Throne,[4] so that to the eye of faith Christ was there visible, presiding over the Synod. Holy Scripture was their standard of appeal. They weighed all things in the balance of the Sanctuary.[5] "To urge anything upon the Church as an article of faith, and not to show it in Scripture" (says Richard Hooker[6]),

[3] Hæreticos, schismaticos et rebelles eidem domino nostro pro posse persequar et impugnabo.

[4] Acta Synodi Ephesinæ, p. 175. *Theodoret*, Hist. Eccl. v. 3. *Dr. Field*, On the Church, book v. ch. 49.

[5] And they protested against the use of any other. "Non afferamus stateras dolosas," says *S. Aug.* ("De Bapt. c. Donatist." ii. 6.), "ubi appendamus quod volumus, et quomodo volumus, dicentes 'hoc grave; hoc leve est;' sed afferamus *divinam stateram de Scripturis Sanctis* tanquam de thesauris dominicis, et in illâ quid sit gravius appendamus; imò non appendamus, sed a *Domino appensa* recognoscamus."

[6] *Hooker*, ii. v. 4. Cp. *Tertullian* (c. Hermogen. c. 22), "Adoro Scripturæ plenitudinem, si non est *scriptum*, timeant Væ illud adjicientibus aut detrahentibus destinatum," and *S. Jerome* (in Haggai, c. i.), "Quæ absque auctoritate et testimoniis *Scripturarum*, quasi traditione Apostolicâ sponte reperiunt, atque confingunt, percutit gladius Dei," and *S.*

"this did the ancient Fathers evermore think unlawful, impious, execrable."

But the Church of Rome has abandoned this fundamental principle, which regulated the deliberations of all ancient General Councils.

In the fourth session of the Council of Trent (A.D. 1546), when only fifty-three Bishops were present, and of these more than forty were Italians, she decreed, first, that the Apocrypha, which the Ancient Catholic Church did not receive as divinely inspired, is of equal authority with the Canonical Books of Holy Scripture for establishing articles of faith; and, secondly, she placed her own unwritten Traditions on a par with Holy Scripture, and she made them to be a standard of appeal in matters of faith:

These are her received principles.[7]

Therefore the foundation being unsound, upon which the dogmatic decrees of the proposed Roman Council will rest, they cannot command the assent of those who venerate the written Word of God as *that* [8] "which is able to make us wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Jesus Christ."

Augustine (c. Lit. Petilian. iii. 6.), "Si Angelus de cælo vobis annuntiaverit præterquam quod in *Scripturis* accepistis, anathema sit." Cp. Epist. ad Galat. i. 8, and *S. August.* de Peccatorum Meritis, i. 22, "Scriptura Sancta nescit falli nec fallere;" Epist. 82. ad Hieronymum, "*Solis* eis Scripturarum libris, qui jam canonici appellantur, didici hunc timorem honoremque deferre, ut nullum eorum auctorem scribendo aliquid errâsse firmissimè credam. *Alios* ita lego, ut quantâlibet sanctitate doctrinâque præpolleant, non ideò verum putem quia ipsi ita senserint, sed quia mihi vel per illos *auctores canonicos*, vel probabili ratione, quod a vero non abhorreat, persuadere poterunt. *Tantummodo* Scripturis canonicis hanc debeo servitutem, quâ eas *solas* ita sequar ut conscriptores earum nihil in eis omninò errâsse non dubitem." It is clear from these words, that S. Augustine believed that Popes were not infallible, and that Councils and Popes must bow to Holy Scripture.

[7] As a celebrated Roman Professor of Theology expresses it (*Perrone*, "Prælect. Theol." ii. 1217, ed. Paris), "The Tridentine Fathers knew well that there are certain articles of Faith" (i. e. of their own Faith) "which rest on *Tradition alone;* they sanctioned Tradition as a rule of Faith wholly *distinct from Scripture.*"

[8] As St. Paul declares, "The Holy Scriptures are *the* things that are able" (*τὰ δυνάμενα*; observe the article *τὰ*, which excludes *other* things) "to make wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus" (2 Tim. iii. 15).

and who adhere to the principles which governed the General Councils of ancient Christendom.

(4.) Fourthly. We cannot indeed foresee what may be the dogmatic decrees of the proposed Council. Some there are who foretell that it will declare *the Bishop of Rome to be infallible*. And when this Council is assembled at Rome, and breathes the atmosphere of Rome, and is impregnated by it, who can tell what may be the effect of that potent influence upon it, and to what lengths it may be carried?

It is an unquestionable fact, that Bishops of Rome are not infallible, inasmuch as they have erred, and have fallen into heresy; Popes Zephyrinus and Callistus were partisans of the Noetian heresy,[9] Pope Liberius lapsed into Arianism, Pope Vigilius into Eutychianism, and Pope Honorius (A.D. 626—638) was a Monothelite;[1] and in ancient times, even to the seventh century, the *Bishops of Rome themselves*, at their ordination, in the profession of faith which they then made, publicly *denounced* and *anathematized Pope Honorius by name as a heretic*;[2] and in that solemn formulary they then openly acknowledged their own fallibility;[3] and thus they

[9] As has been shown by the author of the present discourse, in his volume entitled "S. Hippolytus and the Church of Rome in the Third Century." London, 1853.

[1] See *Barrow* on the Pope's Supremacy, p. 266; *Gerhard*, Loci Theol. v. 407; *Crakanthorpe*, on 5th Gen. Council, ch. xxxvi.; *Bingham*, Antiq. xvi. 1. 14; *Gieseler*, Eccl. Hist. § 83.

In the "Liber Diurnus Romanorum Pontificum," which contains the profession of Faith made by the Bishops of Rome at their Ordination, and subscribed with their own hands (see p. 509, ed. *Routh*). It was published by *Garnier* at Paris in 1680, and has been reprinted by *Dr. Routh* in his Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Opuscula, 1832, pp. 511—516. The words in which the Popes anathematized Pope Honorious are as follows (p. 507):—"Auctores novi hæretici dogmatis Sergium, Pyrrhum . . . unà cum *Honorio*, qui pravis eorum assertionibus fomentum impendit . . . execramur atque condemnamus."

Pope Honorius was also condemned as a heritic by the Universal Church, see the Council in Trollo Quini Sextum, A.D. 692, Canon I., and by the present Eastern Church. See the Epistle of the Eastern Patriarchs to the present Pope, Pius IX., A.D. 1848, § 11.

[3] In the following words of the document aforesaid, p. 508:—"Districtè anathematis interdictioni subjicimus si quis unquam seu *nos* sive est alius, qui novum aliquid præsumat contra hujusmodi evangelicam

delivered a prophetic protest from the Papal chair itself against an assumption of Infallibility on the part of any of their successors.

These things are matters of history. Yet, since in the mysterious and awful workings of God's righteous government, it is His will to withdraw His grace from the proud, and to punish them by means of their own pride,[4] the Bishops of Rome may be allowed by God to plunge deeper into the abyss of error by asserting their own Infallibility; and they may be like Pharaoh of old, rushing on to his own destruction in a desperate fit of infatuation and of frenzy, and carrying with him the armies of Egypt into the depths of the Red Sea.

But, whatever dogmatic decrees may be put forth by this Council, it is certain that those decrees will not be generally received. The Pope may invite Eastern Bishops to it. Even if they do not accept the invitation, this would give it a semblance of impartiality. And if they should accept it, they would be drawn into a snare, and aggrandize his power, as at the Council of Florence (A.D. 1439); for in the proposed Council at Rome there will be a vast majority of Bishops bound by the Oath already mentioned (p. 320) to advance his supremacy and to persecute all who oppose it as "heretics, and schismatics, and rebels against their lord the Pope." Its decrees, therefore, will not be received by the Eastern Church, which, in the year 1848, united in a solemn protest, subscribed by the four Eastern Patriarchs,[5] against the usurpations and heresies of the Roman Church. Its decrees will not be received by the Churches of Russia and

traditionem, et orthodoxæ fidei Christianæque religionis integritatem, vel quicquam contrarium annitendo immutare tentaverit."

[4] Ipsa peccata sic ordinat Deus, ut quæ fuerint delectamenta homini peccanti, sint instrumenta domino punienti. *S. Aug.* in Psal. vii.

[5] Of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, and twenty-nine Bishops, in May, 1848. Cp. *Dr. Neale's* "History of the Eastern Church," vol. ii. p. 1192—1198.

It is probable that the present aggressive movement of Rome may have the effect of drawing the Eastern Church nearer to the Churches of England and of America, for the defence of the true Faith against her usurpations.

of Greece; they will not be received by the Armenian, Coptic, and Abyssinian Churches; they will not be received by the Anglican Church here or in the Colonies, nor by the American Church, nor by the Scandinavian Churches, nor by any of the Protestant communities throughout the world.

For this reason therefore, also, it has no claim to be called a General Council.

The present Church of Rome charges us with isolation. But it is Rome which is isolated, and not we. The most Catholic of all things is Truth. We cleave to Christ, Who is the Truth.[6] We hold to Christ, Who is the Head. We dwell in Him Who is the Light; and "if we walk in the Light as He is in the Light, we have fellowship one with another."[7] And Catholicity is a thing of Time. Whoever communicates with Christ, is truly Catholic, for he communicates with Him Who is "the First and the Last." Whoever communicates with the Church as it existed in the time of Christ and His holy Apostles, is a true Catholic. But whoever adds novel dogmas to the one Faith taught by them, is guilty of heresy and schism. We hold all the Truth contained in Holy Scripture, and proclaimed in all the ancient General Councils, without any additions; and we venerate and maintain the principles which governed those ancient Councils. Thus we hold communion with the Past; we communicate in spirit with all the holy men who sat in those Councils, even from the days of the Apostles.

But Rome has isolated herself. She has abrogated the laws which those Councils revered and obeyed. She has added new dogmas to the ancient Faith. Fourteen years ago, on the very same day—the 8th day of December—on which this Council is to meet (an unhappy omen) she promulgated a new article of Faith. Thus she has separated herself from the sound Ancient Church Catholic, and she has convicted herself, by her own acts, of novelty, heresy, and schism.

But let us not therefore regard this proposed Council with indifference. No: if the watchmen of the House of

[6] John xiv. 6. [7] John i. 7.

Israel are faithful to their trust, then, under the overruling power of an All-wise and Merciful God, the gathering together of this great Assembly may be made the occasion of unspeakable good to Christendom.

It ought to be regarded by us as an occasion for awakening public attention to the true principles of the Catholic Church. What is the divinely-appointed Rule of Faith, from which no man ought to swerve? What are the laws which Christ Himself has promulgated for the government of His Church? What is the rightful constitution of General Councils, according to the judgment and practice of ancient Christendom? These are questions of the gravest importance, and let us thank God that these questions are now raised, and call with a loud voice for solution.

We may cherish a hope—and we ought devoutly to pray —that many of those venerable persons who are now summoned by the Bishop of Rome to the proposed Council, may be induced to consider these questions, and to examine their own position. And if they find, by a careful study of Holy Scripture and the records of the Primitive Church, that the Bishop of Rome has encroached upon the supremacy of Christ, and upon the rights of all Christian Princes and Governments, and has done grievous wrong to the Bishops, Priests, and Deacons of the Church of God, and to her faithful People, and has robbed them of that "liberty with which Christ has made them free," and in which they are commanded to stand fast, and not to become the servants of men,[8] they may be stimulated and enabled to emancipate themselves from the unhappy bondage by which they are now enthralled.

The Bishops who are convened to that Council may be excited to vindicate their own prerogatives, as successors of the Apostles, and of the ancient Bishops of Christ's Church, who were not fettered by unrighteous oaths of vassalage to the Roman See; and to claim for themselves and for their flocks that rightful heritage which Christ purchased for them by His most precious blood; and to recover the inestimable blessing of the free possession of pure Christian

[8] Gal. v. 1.

Faith, drawn from the unsullied well-spring of Holy Scripture, and not tainted by the impure admixture of corrupt and novel traditions, in doctrine, discipline, and worship. And then it may please God to bring us together with them, under the Divine Supremacy of Christ, into a true General Council, where we may joyfully embrace one another as brethren, united in that pure primitive faith and unfeigned love which animated the Apostles, Elders, and Brethren in the first Council of the Church—the Council at Jerusalem[9]—and which hallowed, dignified, and beautified the great General Councils of undivided Christendom.

But, we must also look forth in other directions.

Christendom is now menaced by Infidelity. The last great struggle of the Church of Christ will be against open Unbelief and Blasphemy; and we seem to be approaching that terrible conflict.

In most of the countries of Continental Europe, the Christian Priesthood has lost its hold on the intelligence of the Laity. It has fallen below the needs of the times. In Roman Catholic countries, the People are apostatizing from Christianity. They do not see Christianity allied with sound Learning and wholesome Truth, but with much that is profitless and puerile, and with much that is notoriously fabulous and false. And because Christianity is presented to them in such a strange caricature and travesty, they identify it with fraud, and recoil from the Gospel as an imposture. Such influences as these must produce anarchy and confusion.

We ought to be prepared for these results, and to take warning. If there was ever a time when we needed a learned Clergy, it is now.[1]

[9] Acts xv. 4—29.

[1] The ignorance and illiterate character of a great part of the Roman Catholic Priesthood, and their readiness to lend themselves to the propagation of legendary stories and old wives' fables, &c., sometimes for the sake of sordid lucre and traffic, is deplored by eminent Roman Catholic writers, such as *Rosmini* in his "Cinque Piaghe," pp. 20—45, Napoli, 1860; and see the recent work of another eminent Roman Catholic writer, *Dr. Döllinger*, "The Church and the Churches," p. 401 (Engl. transl. 1862), who quotes the following avowals of his co-re-

Yet further, in many Protestant countries the Clergy have forfeited their proper position as teachers of Christianity. They have ceased to be Theologians. This has arisen, in a great measure, from the secularization of Universities. In Protestant Germany, for example, the principal works which are produced on Theology and Biblical criticism come, not from the Clergy, but from lay professors of theology. The authors of these works are not bound together by any profession of faith, and may be of no creed at all; few of them speak as if they had any mission from Christ, and they do not treat the Scriptures as the bread of life given by God's love to a famishing world; but they handle them too often with dry, cold, philosophical indifference, as if they were only like some botanical or mineral specimen; and many of them seem to be tempted to attract hearers and allure readers by broaching what is paradoxical, novel, and startling, rather than by maintaining what is true; and having little reverence for Antiquity and Authority, and without a fixed rule of faith, they do not interpret Scripture "according to the proportion of faith,"[2] and have little scruple in preferring their own private opinions and arbitrary conceits to the judgment of the Universal Church and of Christ Himself, even in questions concerning the Truth, Genuineness, and Inspiration of Holy Scripture. Men who have not the palate of faith have no relish for true doctrine, and no disrelish for false;[3] and we cannot expect vindica-

ligionists:—"Il clero pontificio è il più ignorante di tutto il clero cattolico, salvo poche eccezioni." "In other parts of Italy it is in fact not a whit better, as Bishops grant ordination with a facility of which no one in Germany can have an idea." See what is said of the incredible ignorance of the Piedmontese clergy by the distinguished teacher, Professor *Domenico Berti*, "Rivista Italiana," 1850, i. 123, 124. "The state to which we are brought, is" (say intellectually gifted persons in the Papal States) "that in the finest and mentally most richly endowed part of Italy we are absolutely without any literature." The art of Printing has now been invented for about 400 years; but not a single copy of the Old Testament, in the original, has ever been printed at Rome; and no edition of either Testament in Italian has been published there. That of Pope Sixtus V. was suppressed.

[2] Rom. xii. 6.

[3] "Si adsit palatum fidei" (said *S. Augustine*), "sapit mel Dei," and the converse is no less true.

tions of the true Faith, or refutations of deadly heresy, from such theologians as these; however distinguished they may be by their attainments—and very eminent they are—in what concerns the letter of Scripture. For as the Apostle says, "the letter" (without the Spirit) "killeth, but the Spirit giveth life."[4]

The severance of the science of Divinity from the Christian Priesthood is deeply to be deplored.[5] It is an evil omen for a Nation, when its future Clergy sit at the feet of Laymen to learn theology. This was not the case in the Ancient Church. There, all the greatest works on Holy Scripture, and Christian doctrine and discipline, and Church History, were composed by Bishops and Presbyters of the Church. And so it has ever been in England. God grant that it may never be otherwise!

I do not presume to say that a Layman may not be a good divine. Heaven forbid! If he is a sound member of

[4] 2 Cor. iii. 6. There are, doubtless, bright exceptions to what is stated above. It may suffice to mention the names of *Hengstenberg*, *Lange*, and *Delitzsch*. But the fact is unquestionable. The following is an extract from a letter lately received by me from a distinguished student of theology in the most celebrated German University, whose name holds an honourable place in the literary annals of his country. Deploring the circumstance to which I have referred, he says, "This state of things cannot be beneficial to the Church nor to theological Science ('Wissenschaft'). Instead of being united, they endeavour to ignore one another. The Professor forgets that he is lecturing to young men who are desirous of entering the sacred ministry; and when the student is ordained, he discovers that he must forget what he learnt at the University, because it is of no use to him in his parochial ministry; and therefore he often conceives an utter disrelish and deplorable contempt for Theology, and does not make any progress in it, but, in a pietistical spirit, abandons the study of Divinity altogether. Of course you know that there are some exceptions to what I have said concerning Professors of Theology, especially Professor Hengstenberg, whose works are much read by the parochial clergy."

[5] This is deplored by many wise and good men in Germany; as, for instance, by the late *Dr. Rudolph Stier*, in his "Reden Jesu" (vol. iv., Preface), who laments "the unhappy divorce between the Church, and the Professorial Chair; and the unpractical method of the Theological Schools, which coldly and stiffly fences itself against the use of any word which may speak from heart to heart." Here is a solemn warning for our English Colleges and Universities.

Christ's Church, doubtless he may be. But of this I am sure, that a Christian Priest has many special means and professional helps for cultivating Theology. He has the gift of the Holy Ghost bestowed on him at Ordination; and if he does not fail to stir up the grace that is in him and to cherish that Divine gift by fervent prayer and diligent study, it will enlighten his mind to see, and purify his heart to receive, Divine Truth. He has the abiding sense of his solemn responsibility, bound upon him by his vows at Ordination, to set himself apart from the world, and to dedicate himself wholly to God, and to search for the Truth with all his heart, mind, soul, and spirit, and to teach only what is true. He enjoys those blessed opportunities of growing in grace and spiritual wisdom, which arise from constant study of the Scriptures, and from reading them in the House of God, and from expounding them to his flock, after earnest supplication to Him; and from ministering at the baptismal font and at the holy table; and from offering up daily the sweet incense of Prayer; and from catechizing Christ's little ones. And he has the benefit of that holy wisdom which grows up by the side of sick-beds, and of death-beds, and springs forth in churchyards at the side of the grave. What is the study of Theology and Biblical Criticism without these things? A mere science of the schools and of the lecture-room; a thing only of grammars and lexicons; a dry, lifeless skeleton; a heartless thing, made for theorizing and disputing, but not for living, loving, acting, suffering, and dying, as Christian Theology ought to be—a quickening principle, almost a holy inspiration, animating the heart, soul, and spirit, ay, and glowing and burning as a sacred fire, in the whole man, filled with the Holy Ghost.

This brings me, in the last place, to consider your duty. You are watchmen of the house of Israel; keep your watch diligently. "Corde vigila, fide vigila, spe vigila, charitate vigila, operibus vigila."[6] You are shepherds of the flock which Christ has purchased with His own blood; feed and

[6] *S. Aug.* (Serm. 23, De Verbis Domini).

tend it well, keep it safe from wolves. You are spiritual guides of others; therefore the Priest's lips should keep knowledge.[7] Even the inspired Apostle, in his last days on earth, did not disdain to send for his books and his parchments;[8] and he charged his beloved son Timothy, who was richly endued with spiritual graces, to "give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine."[9] You are husbandmen of God's Vineyard, dressers of His Garden; keep up its hedges, keep it clear of weeds. You are stewards of God's mysteries; keep the treasure safe. As Priests and Deacons of the Catholic Church of England, you have, thank God, in your hands the true Canon of Holy Scripture, pure and unadulterated; you have the unmutilated Sacraments of Christ; you have the Creeds of the Ancient Church of God; you have a Scriptural and Catholic Liturgy; you have an Apostolic Ministry. Keep these things safe, even at the cost of your own blood. "O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust."[1] And "keep thyself pure."[2] Keep thyself unspotted from the world.[3] Endeavour to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.[4]

Heaven forbid that you should ever surrender a single iota, even the least tittle, of Christian doctrine. No: keep it unto death. But remember that in things indifferent,—that is, in things not clearly commanded by Holy Scripture or by the Church of which you are ministers, and which are not enjoined or allowed by your lawful superiors—such, for example, as many matters *ritual* and *ceremonial*,—you may not seek to please yourselves, if you desire to please God. What is not so ordered, is unlawful, and ought not to be introduced on any mere private motion of your own. Such an act is schismatical. Even if a thing be not expressly forbidden, yet if it be not commanded, it is not to be introduced by private persons, if it will give offence even

[7] Mal. ii. 7.
[8] 2 Tim. iv. 13, and *Bp. Bull's* Sermon on that text, i. 240.
[9] 1 Tim. iv. 13.
[1] 1 Tim. iv. 20.
[2] 1 Tim. v. 22.
[3] James i. 17.
[4] Eph. iv. 3.

to weaker brethren. As the great Apostle says concerning such things, "All things are lawful unto me, but all things are not expedient,"—and why? Because "all things edify not. Let no man seek his own, but every man another's wealth."[5]

If you desire that God should bear with your infirmities, you must bear the infirmities of the weak. As the same great Apostle says, who was the most strenuous asserter of Christian Doctrine, and of all men can be the least suspected of any cowardly compromise, "We that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please ourselves. Let every one of us please his neighbour for his good to edification. For even Christ pleased not Himself."[6] We are all members one of another in Christ,[7] and none of us liveth to himself;[8] and all our actions are to be considered, not merely absolutely in themselves, but with reference to the effect and influence they will have upon others, especially on those committed to our trust.

Therefore, dearly beloved, give "none offence to any, that the ministry be not blamed."[9] Hear our Lord's words, "Whoso shall offend one of these little ones that believe in Me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea."[1] "When ye sin so against the brethren, and wound their weak conscience," says St. Paul, "ye sin against Christ;" and so shall thy "weak brother perish, for whom Christ died,"[2] and thus you would violate charity, without which, as the same Apostle testifies, it would avail you nothing to have even the tongues of men and angels, and the gift of prophecy, and to understand all mysteries and all knowledge, and faith that could move mountains, and to give your bodies to be burned.[3] Therefore, beloved in the Lord, look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others.[4] If you follow this

[5] 1 Cor. vi. 12; x. 23, 24.
[6] Rom. xv. 1—3.
[7] Eph. iv. 25.
[8] Rom. xiv. 7.
[9] 2 Cor. vi. 3.
[1] Matt. xviii. 6.
[2] 1 Cor. viii. 11, 12.
[3] 1 Cor. xiii. 1—5.
[4] Phil. ii. 4.

rule, then, as you walk through your parishes, your shadow will be like the shadow of Peter passing by, and falling on the sick in the streets;[5] and your least actions will be like the handkerchiefs and aprons taken from the body of St. Paul at Ephesus, and carried to those who were diseased;[6] they will diffuse a salutary influence and will have a healing virtue. Then, "the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, will keep your hearts and minds through Christ Jesus;"[7] and when your race is run, you will be able to say with the Apostle, "I have fought a good fight, I have kept the faith: henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that Day."[8]

In the same month as that in which the foregoing Address was delivered, Pope Pius IX. addressed a letter "to all Protestants and other Non-catholics" (as he called them), to which, shortly afterwards, a Reply was written by me and published under the title of "Responsio Anglicana Litteris Apostolicis reddita Pii Papæ IX. ad omnes Protestantes aliosque Acatholicos," 1868:—

Litteras nuperrimè scripsit Pius Papa Nonus ad omnes Protestantes. Scribens ad omnes Protestantes, ad nos scribit qui cum Ecclesiâ Anglicanâ communicamus. Etenim dum nos Catholicos esse asseveramus, Protestantes quoque esse nos non diffitemur, eò quòd errores Catholicæ fidei adversantes repudiamus. Protestantes sumus ut verè simus Catholici.

Quòd Litteras[9] ad nos dictare, et paternam de animarum

[5] Acts v. 15. [6] Acts xix. 12.
[7] Phil. iv. 7. [8] 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8.
[9] Hoc titulo insignitas, "Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Pii Divinâ Providentiâ Papæ IX. Litteræ Apostolicæ ad omnes Protestantes aliosque Acatholicos." Hæ Litteræ, Latino sermone scriptæ et Romæ in lucem editæ die mensis Septembris XXX. anno MDCCCLXVIII., in præcipuarum nationum linguas versæ sunt, et per Europam et Americam et alias regiones divulgatæ.

nostrarum salute sollicitudinem profiteri, non dedignatus sit Romanæ Urbis Episcopus, nobis non potuit non esse acceptissimum.

Quæ enim et quanta beneficia in Angliam nostram ex Italiæ oris abundaverint, vix cogitatione complecti, nedum verbis exprimere, valemus. Ut enim uberrimos illos fructus taceamus, quos ex illustrium Virorum scriptis colligimus, quorum nominibus splendent Italiæ fasti, quùm veteres tùm recentiores, et ut supersedeamus enumerare præclara illa Architecturæ, Sculpturæ et Picturæ monumenta, quæ nos in Italiæ civitates et præcipuè Romam alliciunt, visendi et æmulandi gratiâ, alia sunt etiamnum insigniora, quæ nos cum Italiâ, et cum ipsâ Româ, non solùm jucundissimâ consuetudine conciliant, verùm etiam sanctissimo pietatis vinculo consociant atque conjungunt.

Sancti Petri, Romanæ Ecclesiæ, cum Sancto Paulo, Fundatoris, Litteræ verè Apostolicæ assiduè sonant in Ecclesiis nostris, et nostris omnium manibus versantur. Sancti Clementis, Episcopi Romani, Sancto Paulo familiaris, Litterarum verè Apostolicarum Codex antiquissimus, imò unicus, apud nos Londini religiosè asservatur, et non tantum est typis excusus, et Anglicanâ versione donatus, ut quàm plurimis innotescat, sed etiam arte, quod aiunt, photographicâ usque ad minutissimos apices exactissimè est repræsentatus, ut nullo temporis lapsu Sancti Clementis memoria obsolescat, et voces ejus obmutescant. Sancti Ambrosii Mediolanensis Episcopi nomen et scripta magno apud nos florent honore. Sancti Leonis Magni, Præsulis Romani, Sermones atque Epistolas veneramur. Sancti Gregorii Primi, Antistitis Romani, memoriam gratâ recordatione prosequimur, non solùm propter scripta verè Apostolica, sed quòd Apostolicum erga nos animum gesserit, et Apostolicum affectum exhibuerit, et Apostolicum munus expleverit, quippe qui Sanctum Augustinum ad nos Evangelii præconem miserit; cui Archiepiscopi nostri Cantuarienses continuâ et nunquam interruptâ serie succedunt; etsi neminem ferè lateat, Ecclesiam Christi in Britanniâ floruisse multos ante Augustinum annos, imò ab Apostolorum ipsorum tempore, et Episcopos Britannos primitivis Ecclesiæ Conciliis interfuisse.

Ut alia prætermittamus, Symbolum Apostolicum, quod cum vetere Symbolo Romano in omnibus ferè consonat, quotidie in nostris Ecclesiis recitatur, et in illam fidei professionem baptizamur. In Symboli Nicæno-Constantinopolitani formâ, quod in sacrosancto mysterio Corporis et Sanguinis Christi celebrando apud nos semper recitatur, cătenus ad amussim cum Romanâ Ecclesiâ conspiramus, ut hoc potissimùm nomine invidiam Orientalium in nos conflaverimus. Symbolum Athanasianum, quod a Latinâ Ecclesiâ originem trahere a Theologis nostris est demonstratum, in Ecclesiis nostris cantatur.

Quæ cùm sint luce meridianâ clariora, satis, opinamur, liquet, nos, prout fas est, Italiæ nomen magnâ cum observantiâ colere, et Litteras verè Apostolicas a Româ ad nos perlatas summâ cum reverentiâ salutaturos fore; et ut cum Italicâ gente atque Ecclesiâ arctiore adhuc unione copulemur in Christo Domino Nostro, summo Ecclesiæ Capite, et animarum Pastore atque Episcopo, impensissimo studio avere, et ferventissimis votis anhelare, et Deum Optimum Maximum enixè apprecari.

Quapropter, ut verum fateamur, non mediocri dolore affecti et animi perturbatione sumus commoti, quùm Litteras Pii Papæ Noni Apostolicas nuperrimè ad nos datas, et per totum Orbem terrarum jam divulgatas, in manus nostras susceperamus, et oculis perlustraveramus.

Litteræ Apostolicæ, ita sanè ratiocinabamur, spiritu Apostolico debent animari. In Litteris Apostolicis Christiana charitas, æquitas, humilitas clarè elucebunt. Sic augurabamur fore. Sed spem fefellit eventus. Quantâ acerbitate nos nostraque perstringat Pius Pontifex Romanus, quàm iniquè de nobis judicet, quàm inhumanè et contumeliosè nos lacessat, insectetur et insultaverit, Deum testem appellamus. Cujus quidem judicio infallibili caussam nostram integram committere satius duceremus, et convicia in nos conjecta silentio premere, nisi, in pravæ religionis crimine, negligere quid de se publicè dicatur, utcunque calumniosè, hominum esset dissolutorum, et ad injurias Divini Nominis impiè et oscitanter conniventium.

Sed ad rem veniamus.

In Litteris hisce Apostolicis profitetur Pius Pontifex se "*omnes* totius orbis Episcopos convocâsse in Œcumenicum Concilium futuro anno Romæ concelebrandum." Cum *omnes* Episcopos ait a se esse convocatos, satis declarat eos, qui a se non sint convocati, judicio suo non esse Episcopos. Hanc de nostris Episcopis sententiam fert; sed quàm benevolè, quàm mansuetè, quàm æquè, ipse viderit.

At hæretici, inquit, estis et schismatici. Esto: sed si verè Apostolicus est, debebat hæresim veritate redarguere, et schismati charitate mederi. Episcopos Arianorum hæreticos magnus Athanasius, Episcopos Donatistarum schismaticos magnus Augustinus, Episcopi verè Apostolici, ad Concilium convocandos esse censuerunt. Præclarè et sapienter factum. Quapropter? Nempe, ut hæresi et schismati eorum, Domino adjuvante, finis poneretur. Et votis eorum Deus veritatis et pacis annuit. Sed "Sanctissimus Dominus noster Pius Papa IX." (hunc titulum, sanè magnificum, et penè divinum, sibi vindicat) diversam planè viam insistit. In Litteris suis Apostolicis, Episcopos Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ universos, in Angliâ, Hiberniâ et Scotiâ, et omnes Episcopos in Americâ, et in Britannicis coloniis, per universum orbem diffusis, cum Anglicanâ Ecclesiâ communicantes, hâc ratione sibi conciliare existimavit, si Episcopos esse negaverit.

Ad alia transeamus. Ecclesiam Anglicanam ubique disseminatam his coloribus depingit Pius Pontifex Romanus in Litteris Apostolicis: "Haud possumus quin futuri Concilii occasione eos omnes Apostolicis ac paternis nostris verbis alloquamur, qui etiamsi eundem Christum Jesum veluti Redemptorem agnoscant, et in Christiano nomine glorientur, tamen *veram Christi fidem haud profitentur, neque Catholicæ Ecclesiæ communionem sequuntur.*"

Apostolica sanè et paterna verba, et ad Christianam caritatem et pacem promovendam accommodatissima! Itane "veram Christi fidem haud profitemur," sed ethnicis et publicanis protenùs sumus aggregandi, qui "fidem semel sanctis traditam" ut cum Sancto Judâ Apostolo loquamur,[1] tuemur et propagamus? Siccine veram Christi fidem haud profitemur, qui, ut Episcoporum nostrorum plusquam sep-

[1] Epist. S. Jud. 3.

tuaginta Londini nuper congregatorum verba mutuemur, omnes canonicas Scripturas Veteris et Novi Testamenti, utpote firmum. Dei Verbum, amplectimur et veneramur, et omnibus legendas, cum piâ ad Deum oratione, tradimus et commendamus? Scilicet veram Christi fidem haud profitemur, qui Tria Symbola, Apostolicum, Nicænum, Athanasianum, in Ecclesiis nostris recitamus, et tanquam normam interpretandarum Scripturarum, in rebus quæ ad fidem pertinent, optimam atque tutissimam, Concionatoribus nostris proponimus? Ergone veram Christi fidem haud profitemur, qui vivificis Christi Sacramentis regeneramur, et recreamur? Itane veram Christi fidem haud profitemur, apud quos nova quotidie Ecclesiarum ædificia exstruuntur, et vetera instaurantur et amplificantur, in quibus sincerum Dei Verbum palam legitur et prædicatur, et Sacramenta Christi rite ministrantur, et orationes, psalmi et hymni et cantica spiritualia ad Deum, in nomine Jesu Christi Domini Nostri, quotidie ascendunt? Tacemus Scholas, quæ proximis antehac annis apud nos surrexerunt ferè innumeræ, in quibus juventus nostra Christi disciplinâ imbuitur. Omittimus Missiones Evangelicas ad exteras orbis terrarum nationes, et plurimas sedes Episcopales ab Ecclesiâ Anglicanâ in coloniis nostris fundatas. Scilicet veram Christi fidem haud profitemur, qui quæcunque ab Ecclesiæ Universæ Conciliis verè Œcumenicis et Generalibus, in Christianæ doctrinæ articulis, stabilita et promulgata sunt, et ab Ecclesiâ Catholicâ recepta, toto animo amplectimur et veneramur? Si cum Christo, si cum Apostolis, si cum Apostolicis viris, qui in antiquissimis et incorruptissimis Ecclesiæ sæculis floruerunt, et in Christo placidè obdormiverunt, communicare, non est veram Christi fidem profiteri, vellemus sanè sciscitari, quænam sit illa vera Christi fides, quam Pius Papa Nonus nobis ediscendam proponit? Anne aliqua Christi fides post Christum recentiùs nata? Anne aliqua Christi fides ab humano ingenio excogitata? Anne aliqua Christi fides a Romano Pontifice ex scrinio pectoris sui in lucem edita?

Sanctus Paulus in Litteris suis verè Apostolicis scribens ad Galatas,[2] et ad cæteros omnium locorum et sæculorum

[2] Epist. ad Galat. i. 8, 9.

fideles, ita loquitur, "Licet Angelus de cælo evangelizet præterquàm quod evangelizamus vobis, et præter id quod accepistis, anathema sit!" Ergo quodcunque Ecclesiæ primitivæ in rebus fidei fuit ignotum, etiamsi Angelus evangelizaverit, a nobis esset rejiciendum, nisi anathemate Apostolico perculsi esse vellemus. Omnia quæ Sanctus Paulus et cæteri Apostoli evangelizaverunt, nos accipimus; quæ autem in rebus fidei a Paulo et aliis Apostolis non sunt evangelizata, et ab Apostolicis Ecclesiis recepta, nos repudiamus. Utrobique Paulo adstipulamur. Sed Pius Nonus Papa Romanus nos haud veram Christi fidem profiteri asserit. Utri creditis, Pio Papæ, an Paulo Apostolo? Utri creditis, Pio Papæ, an Spiritui Sancto per Paulum elocuto? Ad Romanum Concilium non sumus appellati, sed judicium Dei appellamus.

Verum enimverò "Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Communionem," inquit Pius Pontifex, "non sequimini." Gravissima sanè criminatio. Schisma facinus esse teterrimum, imò grande sacrilegium, ultrò confitemur. Schismatis delictum ne martyrii quidem sanguine ablui dixerunt Sancti Episcopi Ignatius et Cyprianus. Sed hujus peccati ream se esse negat Ecclesia Anglicana. Ab Ecclesiâ Catholicâ nunquam descivimus: ne a Romanâ quidem Ecclesiâ voluntariè nos separavimus. Schisma quod inter Romam et nos ortum est, non a nobis est profectum: sed ab hoc fonte derivatum, quòd communicare nobiscum Romana Ecclesia noluit nisi cum erroribus ejus communicare vellemus; id quod a nobis non poterat fieri, nisi a Christo, Qui est Veritas, et ab Apostolis Ejus, qui erant Veritatis doctores ab Eo constituti, et Spiritu Sancto informati, discederemus. Res igitur eò devenit, ut electionem inter Romanum Pontificem et Christum Jesum facere simus coacti. Prætulimus Christum.

Nævos in Ecclesiâ Anglicanâ reperiri posse non infitiamur. Non pauca apud nos esse, liberè agnoscimus, propter quæ indignationem Dei deprecamur, et misericordiam Ejus, ob Christi merita, humiles flentesque supplicamus. Errores et schismata nonnullorum, qui in Ecclesiâ Anglicanâ locum non imum obtinent, non dissimulamus. In Apostolis erat Judas. Bono semini zizania superseminari in agro Dominico,

frumento paleas misceri in areâ Suâ, malos pisces cum bonis in rete Evangelicum colligi, Christus Ipse ostendit. Hæc est conditio Ecclesiæ in terrâ peregrinantis. Multa tolerare dolens gemensque cogitur, quæ patientiam ejus, spem, et charitatem exercent. Non igitur quid a quibusdam fiat in Ecclesiâ Anglicanâ, sed quid ipsa Ecclesia fecerit et faciat, est a candidis censoribus inquirendum, et ab æquis æstimatoribus pensitandum.

Reformatoribus Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ non erat propositum, novam aliquam Ecclesiam condere, ut imperiti quidam et malevoli calumniantur; sed quæ erat lapsu temporis depravata, ad formam revocare quàm optimam, nempe primitivam. Quo jure igitur nobis Pius Pontifex schismatis crimen intentat? Quo teste? quibus argumentis? A Communione Catholicâ, inquit, segregamini, eò quod ipsum Pium Papam Romanum sancti Petri esse successorem, et Petri prærogativarum ex asse hæredem non pro comperto habetis; et quòd Pontificem Romanum fidei Christianæ Arbitrum, Sacerdotem Universalem, et summum Ecclesiæ Christi Universæ in terris dominatorem non agnoscitis. A Communione Catholicâ, Pio judice, separamur, quia, dum Petrum Apostolum ultrò largimur et palam prædicamus vivum fuisse Ecclesiæ lapidem,[3] non Petrum sed Christum esse Ecclesiæ Petram, id est, fundamentum immobile et inconcussum, fidenter asseveramus.

Si in his fallimur, fallimur cum Apostolicis Viris, fallimur cum Apostolis, et (absit invidia verbo) cum Ipso Christo, Qui est Via, Veritas, Vita;[4] Christus enim interdixit Apostolis Suis ne quis eorum se supra cæteros extolleret.[5] Et si quis ad verba Christi Petrum alloquentis animum diligenter attenderit, quæ Pontifices Romani assiduè ingeminant et ingerunt auribus nostris, "Super hanc Petram ædificabo Ecclesiam Meam,"[6] et si quis ad scopum Christi adverterit in his verbis, non de Petro, sed de Suâ Ipsius Personâ et officio responsum ex Apostolorum ore elicientis, et si verba illa aliis Sanctæ Scripturæ locis illustranda contulerit, pro comperto, ut opinamur, habebit, hæc verba

[3] Vide S. Johann. i. 42.
[4] Johann. xiv. 6.
[5] Matth. xx. 25, 26; xxiii. 8—11.
[6] Matth. xvi. 18.

non ad Petrum pertinere, sed ad CHRISTUM. "Super hanc Petram," id est super Meipsum, Quem tu, Petre, confessus es, "ædificabo Ecclesiam Meam." Ut enim Christus in alio loco appellat Se "*Hunc* lapidem,"[7] ut in alio se vocat "*Hoc* Templum,"[8] ut in alio se nominat "*Hunc* panem,"[9] ita in hoc loco se nuncupat "*Hanc* Petram." Non dubitamus igitur cum Sancto Augustino[1] dicere, "Petra est Christus Quem confessus est Petrus."

Sed quid in Augustino immoramur? Spiritum Sanctum Pauli Apostoli voce loquentem audiamus; "Aliud fundamentum nemo potest ponere, præter id quod positum est, quod est Christus Jesus."[2] Et non super *unum* aliquem Apostolum superædificari dicit Ecclesiam, sed "super fundamentum Apostolorum et Prophetarum, Ipso summo angulari lapide Jesu Christo."[3] Spiritus Sanctus Johannis Apostoli ore declarat, Ecclesiam Christi "*duodecim* fundamentales lapides" (θεμελίους) habere "et in ipsis *duodecim* nomina *duodecim Apostolorum* Agni."[4] Quid clarius? Quid ad rem quam quærimus demonstrandam aptius? Si Petri Apostoli nomen e cæterorum undecim Apostolorum nominibus exemeris, et Petrum unum Apostolum pro fundamento unico constitueris, Petrus a suo loco excidit, et numerus lapidum fundamentalium turbatur, et ædificium ruit.

Vide quantam in Ecclesiam confusionem inferant, qui Petrum unum fundamentum asserunt.

Restitit in faciem Petro Paulus Apostolus, "quia erat reprehensibilis," et "quòd simulationi ejus consenserunt Judæi," et "quòd non rectè ambulabat."[5] Anne igitur titubavit Ecclesia Christi Universa, cùm Petrus vacillaret? Anne Ecclesiæ Christi restitit Paulus in faciem, quùm resisteret Petro? Anne Ecclesia Universa errabat, cùm Petrus non rectè ambularet? Atqui contra eam Portas Inferi non prævalituras Ipse Christus promisit[6] eò quod in

[7] Matth. xxi. 44. [8] Johann. ii. 19.
[9] Johann. vi. 51, 58.
[1] Serm. 76, 149. Tract. in Johann. 118, 124. Cp. Retract. i. 21.
[2] 1 Cor. iii. 11. [3] Eph. ii. 20.
[4] Apocalyps. xxi. 14. [5] Gal. ii. 2—13, ex Vulgatâ Versione
[6] Matth. xvi. 18.

Se Verâ Petrâ esset fundata. Videtis igitur quantam injuriam faciat Pius Pontifex Romanus corpori mystico Christi, imò quantam Christo Ipsi et Spiritui Sancto, cùm Ecclesiam Universam ab uno homine, etiam Apostolo, nedum a Papâ Romano, pendere faciat. Quilibet homo in Ecclesiâ, quælibet Ecclesia particularis, errare et deficere potest. Etenim Ecclesiarum etiam Apostolicarum candelabra Se de suis locis moturum comminatur in Apocalypsi Christus, nisi resipiscant.[7]

Sed Universa Christi Ecclesia non potest errare et deficere ita ut ex eâ Veritas Christi penitùs evanescat, etsi tenebris errorum obnubilatum iri, novissimis præsertim hisce temporibus, prædixerit Christus,[8] ut quando Ipse iterùm venerit, fides vera inventu difficilis futura sit.[9] Restitit Papæ Victori Sanctus Irenæus Lugdunensis Episcopus; restitit Papis Zephyrino atque Callisto Sanctus Hippolytus Portuensis Episcopus; restitit Stephano Papæ Sanctus Cyprianus; restitit Zosimo Papæ Sanctus Augustinus. Restiterunt nostrâ memoriâ, anno MDCCCXLVIII., Pio Papæ Nono omnes Ecclesiæ Orientalis Patriarchæ, et triginta ferè Episcopi, ut hæreticorum dogmatum fautori, et tyrannidem in Ecclesiam affectanti. Sanctus Gregorius[1] Papa Primus sic locutus est; "Ego fidenter dico, quia quisquis se Universalem Sacerdotem vocat, vel vocari desiderat, in elatione suâ Antichristum præcurrit." Honorii Papæ hæresim ipsi Pontifices Romani detestati sunt, et anathemate disertè perculerunt, in formulâ solemni cui subscripserunt quum ad sedem Papalem eveherentur. Anne igitur cum Honorio Papâ communicare, ad salutem erat necessarium? Nonne potiùs cum eo communicantes in perditionis periculum incidebant? Exire ex Babylone populum Suum jubet Spiritus Sanctus, "ut ne participes sint delictorum ejus, et de plagis ejus non accipiant."[2] Babylonem esse civitatem Romanam magno consensu affirmant Patres. Pontificii ipsi, Cardinales atque Episcopi—et nominatim Bellarminus, Baronius, Bossuetius — illud infitiari non audent, imò id ingenuè confitentur. Babylonem Ecclesiam esse degenerem, depravatam, atque adulteram,

[7] Apoc. xi. 5.
[8] Matth. xxiv. 12.
[9] Luc. xviii. 8.
[1] S. Gregor. Epist. vii. 33.
[2] Apoc. xviii. 4, ex Vulgatâ Versione.

plerisque qui Apocalypsim diligenter evolvunt satis liquet. Constat igitur Babylonem esse Ecclesiam in Romanâ civitate; et ex eâ nos exire jubet Spiritus Sanctus.

Quarè ne nobis objiciat Pius Papa Nonus nos "Catholicæ Ecclesiæ communionem non sequi," quià Romanæ Babylonis errores meritò et seriò repudiavimus. Ne nos alliciat atque ludificetur vanis pollicitationibus, nos ad "unicum Christi ovile" esse redituros, si noxia Romanæ Ecclesiæ pascua, spretis Christi dulcibus pratis et aquarum vivarum rivis, sectemur. Ipse potiùs ad Christum redeat; ipse se ad Petri et Pauli Apostolorum exemplar conformet; ipse venerabilem Ecclesiarum Apostolicarum figuram atque imaginem suâ Ecclesiâ repræsentet. Tum nos secum in fide verè Evangelicâ, in disciplinâ verè Apostolicâ, et in caritate verè Catholicâ, libentissimè conjunctos habebit.

Liceat igitur nobis Pium Papam affari. Nos Tu, Præsul illustrissime, levitatis, temeritatis atque inconstantiæ in rebus fidei insimulâsti, et hanc incusationem Tuam oculis omnium legendam publicè per Europam divulgâsti. Nos Tu, Antistes reverendissime, erroris, imperitiæ, ignorantiæ palam arguisti, quasi nos in Cimmeriâ caligine involveremur, dum Tu in luce meridianâ versaris, et lumen universo orbi terrarum suppeditas. Verba Tua ex Litteris Tuis exscribere fas sit. Ecclesia Romana, Te judice, est illa ipsa "Ecclesia, in quâ Veritas semper stabilis, nullique unquam immutationi obnoxia, persistere debet, veluti depositum eidem Ecclesiæ traditum integerrimè custodiendum," et "in quâ solùm integra doctrina Christi servatur."

Voces sanè splendidæ! sed rem ipsam inspiciamus.

Sanctus Spiritus, in die Pentecostes[3] Apostolis illapsus, insedit illis in dispartitarum linguarum formâ, et variis nationum linguis dedit eis eloqui, luculenter hoc signo declarans, Verbum Dei, quùm hoc donum extraordinarium cessâsset, in omnes linguas esse diffundendum, Versionum vernacularum operâ.

Sanctus Paulus ad Timotheum scribens, beatum eum prædicat, quòd "ab infantiâ" Sacras Scripturas noverit;[4] adeòque Scripturas etiam pueris perscrutandas et ediscendas

[3] Act. ii. 3, 4. [4] 2 Tim. iii. 15.

Apostolus docet. Ecclesias sub imagine Candelabrorum in Apocalypsi depingit Ipse Christus, nobis hoc signo demonstrans præcipuum esse Ecclesiæ Christianæ officium, Verbi Divini lumen manu tenere, et omnibus manifestum facere.

Quid ab Ecclesiâ Anglicanâ in hoc munere obeundo factum sit et quotidie fiat, legendis coram populo in linguâ vernaculâ Sacris Scripturis, et Scripturarum Sacrarum exemplaribus per totum orbem disseminandis, non in Anglicano tantum sermone (ut taceamus editiones authenticæ veritatis Hebraicæ atque Græcæ apud nos typis impressas) sed in omnium ferè nationum dialectis, aliis commemorandum relinquimus.

Sed quoniàm nos incusat Pontifex Romanus, et de se suâque Ecclesiâ gloriatur, ne ægrè ferat, si quid ipse in hâc re effecerit, et nunc efficiat, paulisper dispiciamus.

Num Tu, Sanctissimus Dominus Noster, Tu Christi Vicarius, Tu Episcoporum Episcopus, Tu Summus Fidei Judex, et omnium controversiarum Arbiter, Tu Ecclesiæ Supremum Caput, Tu Lumen Nationum, vel unicum Veteris Testamenti Hebraici exemplar ostendere potes, typis excusum in urbe Tuâ Româ, "omnium Ecclesiarum Matre atque Magistrâ?" Ne unicum quidem. Unam sanè, quadringentesimo ferè post artem typographicam inventam anno, Novi Testamenti Græci recensionem, e Codice celeberrimo Vaticano, post longas anxiasque moras grati salutavimus. Sed Testamenti, sive Veteris sive Novi, in linguâ patriâ editionem, a typographeo Romano, populus pastorali Tuæ curæ commissus adhuc, opinamur, expectat. Omnes quotquot sunt ubique terrarum gentes Tibi a Christo commissas, et a Te evangelizandas gloriaris. Sed quodnam Sanctæ Scripturæ exemplar, quemnam Sanctæ Scripturæ librum, ex manibus tuis, in suam ipsorum linguam redditum, a Te etiamnum acceperunt? Nonne lumen divinum Sacrarum Scripturarum apud Te sub modio abditur, quod poni debebat supra candelabrum?[5] Fons aquarum vivarum omnibus bibendus liberè scaturire debebat; nonne apud Te obturatur?

Sed nos, qui Scripturas Sacras habemus in manibus, et pro virili aliis impertimus, nos scilicet in tenebris Ægypti

[5] Matth. v. 15. Marc. iv. 21. Luc. xi. 33.

palabundi miserè erramus, Tu in terrâ Gesen commoraris, et luce meridianâ frueris, et lumen orbi universo ministras!

Aliud jam crimen nobis a Te intentatum inspiciamus.

Nos, Te judice, semper mutabiles, Tu semper idem: nos in Euripo quodam dogmatum variabilium incerti fluctuamus, Tu in fidei portu tranquillo, ancorâ sacrâ fundatus, stationem tenes.

Quid multa? uno exemplo defungamur.

Concilium a Te indictum, et Romæ in Basilicâ Vaticanâ proximo anno habendum, ut ex Bullâ Tuâ cognovimus, "die octavâ mensis Decembris, Immaculatæ Deiparæ Virginis Mariæ Conceptioni sacrâ, est incipiendum."

Hæc diei istius commemoratio in mentem illicò vocat, quâ constantiâ Ecclesia Romana Christi fidem tueatur.

Dogmatica definitio Immaculatæ Conceptionis a Te promulgata est Romæ in Basilicâ Vaticanâ quatuordecim ferè abhinc annis, die octavo mensis Decembris anno MDCCCLIV.

Si hoc dogma verum est, et ad salutem necessarium, cur non priùs est ab Ecclesiâ Romanâ in lucem editum? Itane decebat illam, quæ se lucis divinæ fontem esse jactitat, hoc jubar veritatis orbi invidere, et per annos mille octingentos et quinquaginta Nationes fide verâ fraudare?

Atqui hoc dogma, inquies, priùs erat cognitum, non verò a Pontifice Romano adhuc definitum. Itane sane? Pace tuâ, longè aliter res se habet. Sanctus Gregorius Magnus, Papa Romanus, qui ad finem sexti post Christum natum sæculi floruit, huic dogmati apertè contradixit. Recole, quæsumus, paullisper, Præsul illustrissime, verba eruditissimi Tui decessoris. Christum, Eumque *solum*, ab originalis peccati labe immunem disertè docet. "*Nullus alius* erat," ita scribit, (ergò non Beata Virgo Maria,) "qui apud Deum pro peccatoribus loquens a peccato liber appareret, quia ex eâdem massâ editos æquè *cunctos*" (ergò Beatam Virginem Mariam) "par reatus involverat. Proinde venit ad nos Unigenitus Patris; assumpsit ex nobis naturam, non culpam;" et iterum, "Quia *nullus erat*, cujus meritis Dominus propitiari debuisset, Unigenitus Patris formam

infirmitatis nostræ suscipiens *solus* justus apparuit, ut pro peccatoribus intercederet."[6]

Utri credemus? Sancto Gregorio Papæ Primo an Pio Papæ Nono? Utrumvis sequamur, satis apparet Romam a se ipsâ variâsse.

Sed ulterius proficiscamur. Si hoc Immaculatæ Conceptionis dogma innotuisset Ecclesiæ, et ab eâ receptum fuisset, etiam decimo sexto post Christum natum sæculo, quarè Tridentini Patres de eo litigârunt? quorsum Dominicanorum et Franciscanorum jurgia de hoc ipso dogmate acerrima? Vir eruditissimus ejus sæculi Melchior Canus, Episcopus et Doctor celeberrimus apud Pontificios, de hoc ipso dogmate sic scribit: "*Sancti omnes*, qui in ejus rei mentionem incidere, *uno ore* asseverarunt Beatam Virginem in peccato originali conceptam."[7] Testes suæ sententiæ excitat Ambrosium, Augustinum, Chrysostomum, Anselmum, Bernardum, Bonaventuram, Aquinatem, et alios, "quibus," ait, "*nullus sanctorum* contravenerit;" et alio loco,[8] "Beatam Virginem a peccato originali penitus fuisse liberam e Libris Sacris juxta germanum litteræ sensum nusquam habetur. Quinimò lex generalis in eis traditur, quæ *universos* filios Adam, carnali scilicet propagatione creatos, *sine ullâ exceptione* complectitur. Nec verò dici potest, per traditionem Apostolicam id in Ecclesiam descendisse. Non igitur ad fidem illud attinere potest."

Hæc Canus. Satis igitur liquet, sæculo post Christum decimo sexto hoc dogma ab Ecclesiâ Romanâ non fuisse receptum. Sed nunc novus rerum nascitur ordo. Jam Te definiente (verbis Tuis utimur) ab omnibus est credendum, "Beatissimam Virginem Mariam ab omni originalis culpæ labe præservatam esse immunem;" et "si qui secùs" ac a Te definitum est "in hâc re præsumpserint corde sentire, ii noverint, ac porrò sciant, se *naufragium circa fidem passos esse, et ab unitate fidei defecisse.*"[9]

[6] S. Gregorius Magnus in Librum Job, cap. xxxiii., tom. i. p. 762, ed. Paris, 1702.

[7] Melchior Canus, Episcopus Canariensis, primariæ Cathedræ in Academiâ Salmanticensi Præfectus: Opera, p. 348, ed Colon. 1605.

[8] Ibid. p. 356.

[9] Pii Papæ IX. Litteræ Apostolicæ de dogmaticâ definitione Immacu-

Ergo, quod Apostoli non prædicaverunt, quod Apostolicæ Ecclesiæ non agnoverunt, quod per plus quam mille et octingentos annos ab Ecclesiâ Christi Catholicâ non est receptum, et quod fidei Ecclesiæ Universalis adversatur, quæ Christum *solum* a labe peccati originalis immunem esse docuit, subitò, definiente Te, est ab omnibus recipiendum, atque tenendum, tanquam ad salutem æternam necessarium; et si quis secùs corde senserit, *naufragium fidei passus est, et ab unitate fidei defecit!*

Nosne Tu his verbis excommunicâsti? Imò verò excommunicâsti Te ipsum. Nos, in hâc re, a parte nostrâ habemus Christum, habemus Apostolos, habemus Ecclesiam Christi Apostolicam atque Universalem. Te ipsum ab Ecclesiâ Catholicâ abscidisti: Te ipsum a sæculorum priorum communione, Te ipsum a prædecessoribus Tuis, Te ipsum ab Apostolicis Ecclesiis, Te ipsum ab Apostolis, Te ipsum a Jesu Christo separâsti. Tune igitur nos arguis levitatis? Tu nos suggillas ob fidei inconstantiam et defectionem ab Ecclesiâ? Vide ne Tibi conveniat decantatum illud Proverbium,—

Ἄλλων ἰατρὸς, αὐτὸς ἕλκεσιν βρύων.

Faxit Deus Optimus Maximus, "Pater luminum, apud Quem non est transmutatio nec vicissitudinis obumbratio,"[1] ut, discussis et dissipatis errorum tenebris, et humanis traditionibus sepositis, et novitiis et adulterinis placitis repudiatis, omnes qui Christi nomen profitemur, "fidem semel sanctis traditam"[2] integram atque illibatam conservemus, et in Veritatis tramite simul ambulemus, et in pacis consortio!

Faxit Unigenitus Patris Æterni Filius Coæternus, Qui solus sine labe peccati in nostrâ carne natus est, et in nostrâ carne passus, et Qui immaculato Suo sanguine nos redemit, et Qui "Unus est Mediator inter Deum et homines,"[3] ut in

latæ Conceptionis Virginis Deiparæ: Romæ, vi. Id. Decembres Anno MDCCCLIV.

[1] Epist. S. Jacobi i. 17. [2] Epist. S. Jud. 3.

[3] 1 Tim. ii. 5.

mystico Ejus corpore, Quæ est Ecclesia Dei Vivi, fraterno amore consociemur!

Faxit Spiritus Sanctus, Qui per Prophetas, Apostolos et Evangelistas in Sacris Scripturis locutus est, Cujus Virtute regeneramur et indies fovemur et renovamur, ut eodem Verbo Divino pasti, et Sacramentis recreati, nos invicem in caritate supportemus, solliciti servare unitatem Spiritûs in vinculo pacis, ita ut quoniam Unus est Dominus, una fides, unum baptisma, Unus Deus et Pater omnium, Qui est super omnes et per omnia et in omnibus nobis,[4] ita verè fiat Unus grex, Unus Pastor, Sanctissimus Noster Christus Jesus, Verus Deus, Verus Homo, Cui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto gloria sit, laus et dominatio, in sempiternum. Amen.

Dabamus Londini, in Festo SS. Simonis et Judæ Apostolorum, MDCCCLXVIII.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

Pope Pius IXth has lately addressed a Letter[5] from Rome to "all Protestants." Writing to all Protestants, he writes to us who are members of the Church of England. For, while we affirm ourselves to be Catholics, we do not deny ourselves to be Protestants; inasmuch as we protest against errors contrary to the Catholic Faith. We are Protestants, in order to be truly Catholic.

It could not be otherwise than very agreeable to us, that the Bishop of Rome should have not disdained to dictate a Letter to us, and to express his paternal solicitude for the salvation of our souls.

How many and how great blessings have flowed to Eng-

[4] Eph. iv. 4.

[5] This Apostolic Letter bears the following title, "Apostolic Letter of our most Holy Lord Pius IXth, by Divine Providence, Pope, to all Protestants and other non-Catholics."

The Letter of Pius the IXth is written in Latin, and was published at Rome on the 30th of September, 1868, and has been translated into the languages of the principal Nations, and has been disseminated through Europe and America and parts of the world.

land from Italy, can hardly be conceived in thought, much less be expressed in words. Not to mention the rich fruits which we gather from the writings of illustrious men, whose names adorn the ancient and modern annals of Italy; not to enumerate the splendid monuments of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting, which attract us to the cities of Italy, especially to Rome, in order to admire and to imitate; there are other benefits still more substantial, which associate us with Italy and with Rome, in most delightful communion, and combine and unite us with them in the holiest bonds of religion.

The truly Apostolic Letters of St. Peter, who was joined with St. Paul in founding the Church of Rome, are continually sounding in our Churches, and are in the hands of us all. S. Clement, the Bishop of Rome, the friend of St. Paul, wrote a truly Apostolic Letter: and the most ancient, indeed, the unique Manuscript of that Letter, is preserved by us in London with religious reverence; and has not only been printed in the original, and also been translated into English, that it may be familiar to all, but has been represented, even to its minutest points, by photographic art, in order that the memory of S. Clement may never fade away through time, and that his voice may sound for ever among us. We pay a special homage to the name and to the writings of S. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan; we venerate the Sermons and Epistles of S. Leo the Great, Bishop of Rome; we cherish with grateful remembrance the memory of S. Gregory the First, the Roman Prelate, not only on account of his truly Apostolic writings, but because he was animated with an Apostolic affection towards us, and displayed Apostolic love, and discharged an Apostolic office, in sending to us S. Augustine as a Preacher of the Gospel; to whom our Archbishops of Canterbury succeed in a continuous and never interrupted line; at the same time that it is known to all, that a Christian Church flourished in Britain many years before the coming of Augustine, even from the times of the Apostles themselves, and that British Bishops were present in the primitive Councils of the Church.

Not to dwell on other facts, the Apostles' Creed, which

coincides for the most part with the ancient Creed of Rome, is daily recited in our Churches, and we are baptized into that profession of Faith. In the form of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, which is always recited by us at the celebration of the holy Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, we agree so minutely with the Church of Rome, that principally by this agreement we have incurred the obloquy of the Eastern Church. The Athanasian Creed, which has been shown by our Theologians to derive its origin from the Latin Church, is sung in our Churches.

Inasmuch as these things are clear as noon-day, it is evident, that we, as in duty bound, regard the name of Italy, with pious reverence, and that we should be disposed to greet with the greatest veneration truly Apostolic Letters conveyed to us from Rome; and that we most earnestly desire and yearn with the most ardent longing, and pray with devout supplications to Almighty God, that we may be united with the Nation and Church of Italy in a closer bond, in Jesus Christ our Lord, the Supreme Head of the Church, and the Shepherd and Bishop of our souls.

Wherefore, to confess the truth, we were affected with no small sorrow, and were agitated with no little perturbation of mind, when we had received into our hands, and had scrutinized with our eyes, the Apostolic Letter lately addressed to us by Pope Pius IXth, and now disseminated through the world.

An Apostolic Letter, we imagined, would be animated with an Apostolic spirit. In an Apostolic Letter, Christian charity, equity, and humility, will shine forth brightly. Such were our hopes. But they were disappointed. With how great bitterness Pius, the Roman Pontiff, vituperates us and ours; how unjust a sentence he pronounces against us: with what asperity and contumely he attacks, impugns, and insults us, let God be witness. We would gladly commit our cause to His Infallible verdict, and we should prefer to pass over in silence the calumnies which have been hurled against us, if, when men are accused of Heresy, to neglect what is said of them in public, however calumniously, were not the part of reckless persons, and of such as connive

with impious supineness at wrongs done to the name of God.

But to proceed.

In this Apostolic Letter, Pope Pius asserts that he has summoned "*all* the Bishops of the whole world to the General Council which is to meet next year at Rome," In saying that he has convoked *all* the Bishops, he clearly implies that those who are not convoked by him are *not* Bishops. He pronounces this judgment on our Bishops. How benevolently, how mildly, how justly, let himself be judge.

But, says he, you are heretics and schismatics. Be it so. But if he is truly Apostolic, he ought to confute heresy with truth, and to heal schism with love. The great Athanasius deemed it right that the heretical Bishops of the Arians—the great Augustine judged it fit that the schismatical Bishops of the Donatists—should be called to a Council. Those were truly Apostolic Bishops; and what they did was noble and wise. And why? Because it was done that, by God's help, an end should be put to heresy and schism. And the God of Truth and Love heard their prayers. But "our most holy Lord Pope Pius the Ninth" (such is the magnificent and almost divine title which he assumes to himself) pursues a very different course. In his Apostolic Letter, he supposes that he will conciliate the Bishops of the English Church, in England, Ireland, and Scotland, and all the Bishops who communicate with us in America and in the British Colonies diffused throughout the world, and that he will draw them to himself by this device, if he denies them to be Bishops at all.

But to pass on.

The Church of England, disseminated throughout the world, is depicted in the following colours, by Pius, the Bishop of Rome, in his Apostolic Letter:—"We cannot do otherwise than address them all, on the occasion of the approaching Council, with our Apostolic and paternal words, who, although they own the same Christ Jesus as a Redeemer, and glory in the Christian name, yet *do not profess the true faith of Christ, nor follow the Communion of the Catholic Church.*

Truly these are Apostolic and paternal words, and admirably fitted to promote the cause of Love and Peace! Is it so then, that we do not profess the true faith of Christ, and that we are to be counted as heathens and publicans,—we, who maintain and propagate, to adopt the language of St. Jude, "the faith once for all delivered to the Saints"?[6] Is it so, then, that we do not profess the true faith of Christ, we who (to borrow the words of more than seventy of our Bishops lately assembled at London) "embrace and venerate all the Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testament as the sure Word of God," and who deliver and commend them to be read by all, with devout prayer to Him? Is it so, that we do not profess the true faith of Christ, we who recite in our Churches the three Creeds, the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene, and the Athanasian, and propose them to our Preachers as the best rule for the interpretation of Scripture in matters which pertain to the Faith? Is it so, that we do not profess the true faith of Christ, we who are regenerated and refreshed by His life-giving Sacraments? Is it so, that we do not profess the true faith of Christ, we, in whose land new Churches are being daily built, and old Churches are restored and enlarged, in which the pure Word of God is publicly read and preached, and the Sacraments of Christ are duly administered, and Prayers, Psalms, and Hymns, and spiritual songs are ever ascending unto God in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ? We will say nothing of Schools, which of late years have risen among us in countless numbers, where our children are trained in the discipline of Christ? We will not speak of our Evangelical Missions to heathen Nations, and of the many Episcopal Sees founded by the English Church in our Colonies. Is it so, that we do not profess the true faith of Christ, we who embrace and venerate whatsoever has been established and promulgated in matters of Christian Doctrine, by truly Œcumenical and General Councils, and received by the Catholic Church? If to communicate with Christ and His Apostles, and with Apostolical men, who flourished in the earliest and purest ages of the Church, and fell asleep peacefully in Christ, is not to profess

[6] Jude 3.

the true faith of Christ, then we should be glad to know, what is that "true faith of Christ," which Pope Pius the IXth would now set before us to learn? Is it some faith of Christ that has sprung forth into the world in recent days, long after the time of Christ? Is it some faith of Christ which has been devised by the imagination of man? Is it some faith of Christ which has been brought forth into light by the Roman Pontiff out of the cabinet of his own breast?

St. Paul, in his truly Apostolic Letter, writes to the Galatians, and to all the faithful of every place and time, and he thus speaks: "Although an Angel from heaven should preach to you anything other than what we preach to you, and than what ye have received from us, let him be accursed."[7] Therefore, whatsoever was unknown to the Primitive Church, in matters of faith, although an Angel should preach it, is to be rejected by us, unless we are willing to be smitten by the Apostolic Anathema. All things that St. Paul and the other Apostles preached, we receive. But whatever in matters of faith was not preached by St. Paul and the other Apostles, and received by the Apostolic Churches, we reject. In both respects we assent to St. Paul. But Pope Pius the IXth says that we do "not profess the true faith of Christ." Whether of the two will ye believe, Pius the Pope, or Paul the Apostle? Whether of of the two will ye believe, Pius the Pope, or the Holy Ghost who spake by St. Paul? We have not been called to the Council at Rome, but we invoke the judgment of God.

But Pius the Roman Pontiff says, "Ye do not follow the Communion of the Catholic Church." A very heavy charge. We confess that schism is a heinous sin, yea, a great sacrilege. Holy Bishops, Ignatius and Cyprian, said, that the sin of schism could not be washed away by Martyrdom. The Church of England denies that she is guilty of this crime. We have never seceded from the Catholic Church, and we did not separate willingly even from the Church of Rome. The schism which has arisen between Rome and us did not proceed from us, but it was due to this cause, that Rome would not communicate with us unless we would communi-

[7] Gal. i, 8, 9.

cate with her in her errors, to which we were not able to consent, unless we had been willing to separate ourselves from Christ, Who is the Truth, and from His Apostles who were appointed by Him to be Teachers of the Truth, and who were inspired by the Holy Ghost. Therefore the matter was brought to this issue, that we were forced to make a choice between the Roman Pontiff and Jesus Christ. We preferred Christ.

That blemishes may be found in the English Church we do not deny. We freely own that there are things among us, not a few, for which we deprecate the wrath of God, and pray humbly, and with tears, for His mercy through the merits of Christ. We do not disguise the errors and schisms of some who hold not the lowest place in the English Church. Among the Apostles was a Judas. Christ Himself declared that Tares are sown upon the good Seed in the Field of the Lord; and that chaff is mixed up with the wheat in His Threshing-floor; and that bad fish are gathered together with the good into the Net of the Gospel. This is the condition of the Church, as long as she is a pilgrim in this world. She is compelled with grief and sorrow to tolerate many things which exercise her patience, her hope, and her charity. Not, therefore, what is done by some in the English Church, but what the Church of England herself has done and is doing, this is the point to be examined by candid inquirers, and to be weighed by impartial judges.

The Reformers of the Church of England had no intention to found any new Church, as is calumniously alleged by ignorant and malignant persons; but their purpose was, to restore that which had been corrupted by lapse of time, to the best form, namely, the primitive. By what right therefore does Pope Pius charge us with schism? who are his witnesses? what are his arguments? Ye are separated, he says, from Catholic Communion, because ye are not convinced that Pius the Pope of Rome is the successor af St. Peter, and is sole heir, to the full, of St. Peter's prerogatives, and because ye do not acknowledge the Roman Pontiff to be the sole Arbiter of the Christian Faith, and to be the Uni-

versal Priest, and to be the supreme Lord upon earth of the Universal Church of Christ. In the opinion of Pius the IXth we are separated from Catholic Communion, because, while we willingly confess, and openly declare, that the Apostle St. Peter was a lively stone of the Church,[8] we confidently assert, that not Peter, but CHRIST, is the ROCK of the Church; He is her immovable and unshaken foundation.

If we are deceived in this opinion, we are deceived with Apostolic men, we are deceived with Apostles, and (with reverence be it said) with Christ Himself, Who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life.[9] For Christ expressly charged His Apostles that no one of their number should raise himself above the rest.[1] And whoever will carefully attend to the words which Christ uttered when addressing St. Peter, and which the Roman Pontiffs are continually repeating and dinning into our ears, "Upon this ROCK I will build My Church;" and whoever examines the design of Christ in these words, eliciting from the mouth of the Apostles an answer, not concerning St. Peter, but concerning His own Person and Office; and whosoever compares those words of our Lord with other passages of Scripture illustrative of them, he will feel convinced, we are persuaded, that these words do not refer to St. Peter, but to CHRIST: "Upon this ROCK," that is, upon Myself, whom Thou, O Peter, hast confessed, "I will build My Church." As Christ, in another passage, calls Himself *this* Stone;[2] and, as in another place, He calls Himself *this* Temple;[3] and, in another, names Himself *this* Bread;[4] so, in the present passage He calls Himself *this* Rock; and therefore we do not hesitate to affirm with S. Augustine, "Christ Whom Peter confessed is the Rock."[5]

But why should we dwell on S. Augustine? Let us listen to the Holy Ghost speaking by the mouth of St. Paul,

[8] John i. 42.
[9] John xiv. 6.
[1] Matt. xix, 28; xx. 25, 26; xxiii. 8, 11.
[2] Matt. xxi. 44.
[3] John ii. 19.
[4] John vi. 51, 58.
[5] *S. Aug.* Serm. lxxvi. 149. Tractat. on St. John, 118, 124. See also his Retract. i. 21.

"Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ;"[6] and again, he says that the Church is built, not upon any one Apostle, but "upon the foundation of Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the Head Corner Stone."[7] The Holy Spirit also declares by the mouth of St. John, that the Church of Christ has *Twelve* foundation-stones, and that these *Twelve* foundation-stones have the names of the *Twelve* Apostles of the Lamb.[8] What can be more clear than this? what more fit to prove the point in question? If you remove the name of the Apostle St. Peter from among the names of the other eleven Apostles, and if you take St. Peter, a single Apostle, and make him to be the one foundation, the result is, that Peter falls from his own place, and the number of foundation-stones is disturbed, and the building collapses to the ground. See what confusion is introduced into the Church by those who assert that St. Peter is the one foundation!

The Apostle St. Paul "withstood St. Peter to the face, because he was to be blamed,"[9] and because "the other Jews dissembled with him," and because "he walked not uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel." Did the Universal Church of Christ totter, when Peter stumbled? Did St. Paul withstand the Church of Christ to the face, when he withstood Peter? Did the Universal Church err, when Peter walked not uprightly? No. Christ Himself promised that the gates of hell should not prevail against her, because she is founded upon Himself, the True Rock.

You see, therefore, what a wrong is done by Pius the IXth, Bishop of Rome, to the mystical Body of Christ: yea, what a wrong he is doing to Christ Himself, and to the Holy Ghost, when he makes the Universal Church to depend upon one man, even though he be an Apostle, and much more when he makes it to depend on the Bishop of Rome. Any one man in the Church is liable to error, any particular Church may err and fail. For Christ Himself, in the Apocalypse, threatens that He will remove the Candlesticks, even of Apostolic Churches, from their place, except

[6] 1 Cor. iii. 11.
[7] Ephes. ii. 20.
[8] Rev. xxi. 14.
[9] Gal. ii. 11, 13.

they repent.[1] But the Universal Church of Christ cannot so err and fail that the Truth of Christ should altogether vanish from her, although Christ Himself predicts that she will be clouded over with the darkness of error, especially in these latter days, so that when He shall come again the faith will be hard to find.[2] S. Irenæus Bishop of Lyons withstood Pope Victor; S. Hippolytus Bishop of Portus withstood Popes Zephyrinus and Callistus; S. Cyprian withstood Pope Stephen; S. Augustine withstood Pope Zosimus. In our own days, in the year 1848, all the Patriarchs of the Eastern Church, and about thirty Bishops withstood Pope Pius IX. as a patron of heretical dogmas, and as assuming a tyranny over the Church. Pope Gregory the First himself uttered the following words, "I confidently assert that whosoever calls himself Universal Priest, or desires to be so called, that man is by his pride a precursor of Antichrist."[3] The Popes of Rome themselves execrated and anathematized the heresy of Pope Honorius, in the solemn formula which they subscribed when they were raised to the Papal chair. Was it then necessary to communicate with Pope Honorius in order to everlasting salvation? Rather did not they who communicated with him incur the peril of perdition? The Holy Spirit in the Apocalypse commands His People to come out of Babylon, and not to be partakers of her sins, that they may not receive of her plagues.[4] The Fathers, with a remarkable consent, affirm Babylon to be the City of Rome. Romanists themselves, Cardinals and Bishops, such as Bellarmine, Baronius, and Bossuet, do not venture to deny it; they freely confess it. Many persons, who carefully study the Apocalypse, are persuaded, that Babylon is a degenerate, corrupt, and unfaithful Church. Babylon is the Church in the Roman city; and the Holy Spirit commands men to come out of her. Therefore, let not Pius the IXth allege that we "do not follow the communion of the Catholic Church," because we have deservedly and deliberately repudiated the errors of the Roman Babylon. Let him not allure and mock us with empty promises

[1] Rev. ii. 5.
[2] Luke xviii. 8.
[3] *S. Greg.* Epist. vii. 33.
[4] Rev. xviii. 4.

that we shall return to the "one Fold of Christ," if we forsake the healthful pastures of Christ and the rivers of living waters, and resort to the noxious herbage of the Papal Church. Let him rather return to Christ. Let him conform himself to the pattern of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul. Let him represent in his own Church the venerable form and portrait of Apostolical Churches, then he will have us joyfully communicating with himself, in true Evangelical Faith, in true Apostolical Discipline, and in true Catholic Love.

Let us therefore be permitted to address Pope Pius himself; "Thou, most illustrious Prelate, hast charged us with fickleness, temerity, and inconstancy, in matters of faith; and this charge has been disseminated throughout Europe, to be read by all: Thou, most reverend Bishop, hast openly accused us of error, folly, and ignorance, as if we were enveloped in Cimmerian gloom, while thou art walking in noonday splendour, and art supplying light to the Universe. Let us be allowed to quote thine own words from thine Apostolic Letter to us. The Church of Rome, in thy judgment, is that very "Church in which the truth ever stable, and liable to no change, ought to remain, and *in which alone the entire doctrine of Christ is preserved.*"

Magnificent words! But let us look at facts.

The Holy Spirit on the Day of Pentecost came down upon the Apostles, and sat upon each of them in the form of parted Tongues,[5] and gave them utterance in the various languages of different nations, and by this sign He manifestly declared that when this extraordinary gift had ceased, the Word of God was to be diffused into all languages by means of vernacular Translations. St. Paul, writing to Timothy, proclaims him to be happy, because, from his infancy, he knew the Holy Scriptures:[6] and thus the Apostle teaches us that the Scriptures are to be read and learnt even by children. Christ Himself, in the Apocalypse, displays to us the Churches under the figure of Candlesticks, and shows by this symbol that it is the principal duty of the Church to hold in her hand the Light of God's Word, and to make it manifest to all.

[5] Acts ii. 3, 4. [6] 2 Tim. iii. 15.

We leave it to others to tell, what the Church of England has done, and is daily doing, in the discharge of this duty, by reading the Holy Scriptures to the People in their mother-tongue, and by disseminating copies of the Holy Scriptures throughout the world, not only in the English Language (to say nothing of the Editions of the Hebrew and Greek Originals printed among us), but also in the dialects of almost all Nations.

But since the Roman Pontiff brings an accusation against us, and since he boasts of himself and of his own Church, let him not take it ill, if we venture to inquire a little, what he himself has done, and is doing, in this respect. Thou, who commandest thyself to be styled by all, "our most holy Lord;" Thou, the Vicar of Christ, the Bishop of Bishops, the Supreme Judge of the Faith, and Arbiter of all controversies; Thou, the Head of the Church; the light of the nations, let us humbly ask thee, Canst thou show us even a single copy of the original Hebrew Old Testament printed in thine own city, Rome, "the Mother and Mistress of all Churches"? No, not one. One edition of the New Testament in Greek printed there the other day—about 400 years after the invention of Printing—from the celebrated Vatican MS., we have now gratefully hailed, after long and anxious delay. But we apprehend that the Flock committed to thy pastoral care has still to wait for an edition from the Roman Press, in their own tongue, of the Old or New Testament. Thou boastest that all the Nations of the World are committed by Christ to thy pastoral care, to receive the Gospel from thee. But what single copy of the Scriptures, what Book of the Scriptures, translated into their own language, have any of them, as yet, received from thee? Is not the Divine Light of the Scriptures, which ought to be placed on a Candlestick, hidden by thee under a bushel? The fountain of living waters ought to flow freely, that all may drink of it. Has it not been stopped up by thee?

But we, who hold the Scriptures in our hands, we, who do what we can to communicate them to others, we, forsooth, are wretched wanderers in the darkness of Egypt, while

Thou dwellest in a land of Goshen, and enjoyest the noon-day sun, and ministerest Light to the World!

Another accusation, urged against us, in thy Apostolic Letter, demands our attention. We, thou sayest, are ever changing, thou art ever the same. We are ever ebbing and flowing in an Euripus of varying dogmas; thou art firmly moored, as it were, by a sacred anchor in the tranquil haven of heavenly Truth.

We need not say much here: a single example may suffice.

The Council, which has been announced by thee and is to be held at Rome next year in St. Peter's Church, is appointed to open (as we learn from the Bull published by thee) "on the 8th day of December, the day dedicated to the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary Mother of God."

The mention of that day reminds us at once of the constancy by which the Roman Church maintains the Faith of Christ.

The dogmatic definition of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary was promulgated by thee in St. Peter's Church at Rome about fourteen years ago, on the 8th day of December, in the year 1854.

If this dogma is true, and necessary to salvation, why was it not published before by the Church of Rome? Was it fit, that she, who boasts herself to be the fountain of Divine Light, should grudge this ray of Truth to the world, and should rob the nations of the faith, for 1850 years?

But thou wilt reply that this dogma was known before, but not as yet defined by the Bishop of Rome.

Was it so? With thy leave, the matter was far otherwise. S. Gregory the Great, Bishop of Rome, who flourished at the end of the sixth century after Christ, openly contradicted this dogma. Recollect, we humbly entreat thee, for a moment, O most illustrious Prelate, the words of thy most learned predecessor, S. Gregory. He openly taught, that Christ, and *Christ alone*, was exempt from the taint of Original Sin. Hear, we pray thee, his words, "There was *no one else*" (therefore, *not* the blessed Virgin Mary) "who stood forth free from sin to intercede with God for sinners, because the

like guilt had involved all equally, all having sprung from the same mass of sin. Therefore the Only-begotten of the Father came to us, and took our nature without our sin." And again, he says, "Inasmuch as there was *no one* by whose merits God could be propitiated, the Only-begotten of the Father, taking Himself the form of our weakness, appeared among us, the *only* Righteous One, in order that He might intercede for sinners."[7] Which of the two shall we believe? Pope Gregory the First, or Pope Pius the Ninth? Is it not clearly manifest, that Rome has herein greatly varied from herself?

But we may proceed further.

If this decree of the Immaculate Conception had been known to the Church, and had been received by her, even in the sixteenth century after Christ, why did the Bishops in the Council of Trent disagree on this very Doctrine? How are we to account for the bitter wranglings of the Dominicans and Franciscans concerning it? One of the most learned men of that age, Melchior Canus, a distinguished Bishop and Doctor of the Church of Rome, thus writes concerning that dogma: "*All the Saints*, who have mentioned the subject at all, *assert* with *one voice* that the *Blessed Virgin was conceived in original sin.*"[8] He cites as his witnesses, Ambrose, Augustine, Chrysostom, Anselm, Bernard, Bonaventura, Aquinas, and others, "who," he adds, "were never contradicted by any one of the Saints." And in another passage he says,[9] "We nowhere read in Scripture, according to its true sense, that the Blessed Virgin was wholly free from original sin. On the contrary, Scripture declares a general Law, which comprehends *all* the descendants of Adam, who are created by carnal propagation, *without any exception*. Nor can it be said that this dogma of the Immaculate Conception has come down by Apostolic tradition. Therefore *it cannot be a part of the Faith.*"

[7] S. Gregory the Great, Bishop of Rome, on the Book of Job, cap. xxxiii. tom. i. p. 762, Ed. Paris, 1702.

[8] Melchior Canus, Bishop of the Canaries, Principal Professor in the University of Salamanca, Works, p. 348, ed. Cologne, 1605.

[9] Ibid. p. 356.

Such are the words of that learned man, Melchior Canus.

Hence it is clear, that this dogma of the Immaculate Conception was not received by the Church of Rome in the sixteenth century after Christ. But now a new order of things has arisen. Now, since thou hast defined it, to quote thine own words,[1] All men must believe "that the most blessed Virgin Mary was preserved free from all taint of original sin; and whoever *shall presume* to think *otherwise* in their hearts, let them know, and henceforth be convinced, that they have *made shipwreck of the faith, and have fallen away from the unity of the faith.*"

Consequently, a dogma, which the Apostles never preached, and which the Apostolic Churches never recognized, and which for more than 1800 years was not received by the Catholic Church of Christ, and is repugnant to the Faith of the Church Universal which taught that Christ alone is free from the taint of original sin, now suddenly, because thou hast defined it, is to be received and held by all as necessary to everlasting salvation; and whoever entertains a contrary opinion, *has made shipwreck of the faith, and has fallen away from its unity!*

Dost Thou suppose that Thou hast excommunicated us by these words? No, rather Thou hast excommunicated Thyself. We have Christ on our side; we have the Apostles; we have the Apostolic and Universal Church of Christ. Thou hast cut Thyself off from the Catholic Church; Thou hast separated Thyself from the communion of past ages; Thou hast severed Thyself from Thy predecessors, from the Apostolic Churches, from the Apostles, Thou hast severed Thyself from Christ. Dost Thou charge us with fickleness, dost Thou scoff at us for inconstancy in the Faith, and for defection from the Church? Take heed that the celebrated proverb be not applied to Thee,

"Healer of others, full of sores Thyself."

May it please the Great, Good, and Glorious God, "with

[1] "Apostolic Letter of Pope Pius IXth on the dogmatic definition of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mother of God," dated at Rome, 8th December, 1854.

Whom is no variableness nor shadow of turning,"[2] that the darkness of error may be dispelled and dispersed, and human traditions be laid aside, and all novel and corrupt dogmas be repudiated, and we all, who profess the Name of Christ, may preserve "the Faith once for all delivered to the saints,"[3] entire and unsullied, and may walk together in the path of Truth and in the fellowship of Peace!

May it please the Only-begotten, Co-eternal Son of the Eternal Father, Who alone has been born in our nature without the taint of sin, and has suffered in our flesh, and Who has redeemed us with His Immaculate Blood, and Who is the Only Mediator between God and men,[4] that we may be joined together with brotherly Love in His mystical Body, which is the Church of the Living God.

May it please the Holy Ghost, Who spake in the Holy Scriptures by the Prophets, Apostles, and Evangelists, and by Whose power we are regenerated, and daily nourished and renewed, that we, being fed by the same Divine Word, and refreshed by the same Sacraments, may forbear one another in love, endeavouring to keep the Unity of the Spirit in the bond of Peace; that as there is one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, one God and Father of all, Who is above all, and through all, and in us all,[5] so there may be in very deed, one Flock and one Shepherd, our most Holy Lord Christ Jesus, Very God and Very Man, to Whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all glory, praise, and dominion, for evermore. Amen.

London, Oct. 28, *being the Festival of S. Simon and S. Jude, Apostles,* 1868.

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[2] James i. 17.
[3] Jude 3.
[4] 1 Tim. ii. 5.
[5] Eph. iv. 4.

The foregoing papers on the Vatican Council may be followed by an "Essay on the Babylon of the Apocalypse."

The New Lectionary has happily provided that a far larger portion of the Book of Revelation should be read in our Churches than was formerly the case. The Holy Spirit says emphatically, "Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things which are written therein" (Rev. i. 3). "Blessed is he that keepeth the sayings of the prophecy of this book" (Rev. xxii. 7), and a warning is pronounced by Him against those who take away from the words of this book (Rev. xxii. 19). It is clearly, therefore, a solemn duty for every one to read the Apocalypse, and to study it carefully with humility and prayer. No one who is a Christian can be excused in laying it aside. And if the command of the Holy Spirit had been complied with, this Book would have been better understood than it is.

The following pages, the result of diligent meditation for many years upon a portion of the prophecies in it—of great doctrinal and practical importance at this time—are submitted to the reader's consideration, in the hope that nothing will be found in them that is contrary to sound and sober reason, exercised reverently in the interpretation of the Inspired Word of God.

ESSAY,

&c.

CHAPTER I.

WHETHER BABYLON IN THE APOCALYPSE IS THE CITY OF ROME.

THE subject of our Inquiry is;—

Whether the Prophecies in the Apocalypse,[1] or Revelation of St. John, respecting Babylon, concern ROME as she now is?

This Question divides itself into *two parts;*

First; Do these prophecies concern the CITY in which the Bishop of Rome holds his See?

Secondly; Do they concern that City in her *spiritual* as well as her *temporal* character; that is, do they concern her as a *Church,* as well as a *City?* and as exercising power, not merely at Rome and in Italy, but in many other countries, and over manyother nations, of the world?

Let us begin with the consideration of the former of these two questions, Do these prophecies concern the CITY OF ROME?

1. First, these Apocalyptic prophecies, which describe the Woman who is called Babylon, and is seated on the Beast with seven heads and ten horns, do *not* concern the older, literal, Assyrian Babylon. The inscription on the Woman's forehead is *Mystery;*[2] indicating a *spiritual*

[1] Chapters xiii. xiv. xvi. xvii. xviii. xix.

[2] Rev. xvii. 5, 7. *Mystery,* i. e. something sacred and secret, which is designed to convey to the mind more than meets the ear; see Casaubon,

meaning. This word had been used by St. John's brother Apostle St. Paul, in his description of the *Mystery of Iniquity,* opposed to *the Mystery of Godliness:*[3] and St. John adopts the word from St. Paul, and appears to apply it to the same object as that which had been portrayed by that Apostle.[4]

Again, the Babylon of the Apocalypse is described as a City existing and reigning in St. John's age;[5] but the literal, or Assyrian Babylon had long ceased to be a reigning city when St. John wrote. Therefore the Babylon of the Apocalypse cannot be the literal or Assyrian Babylon.

2. What, then, is the City of which St. John speaks?

It is called by him a GREAT CITY,[6] and it is one which existed[7] in his age; and would continue to exist for many centuries, certainly to our own times; as is evident from the fact, that its *destruction,* as described in the Apocalypse, is represented there as accompanied by events, which, however near they may now be, no one can say have yet taken place.

The Babylon of the Apocalypse is, therefore, some Great City which existed in St. John's age, and which still exists in our own.

Now, almost all the Great Cities of his age have fallen into decay; almost the *only great* City which then existed, and which still exists, is ROME.

3. Thirdly, we read in the Apocalypse: *Here is the mind,* or meaning, *which hath wisdom;*[8] *the Seven heads of the Beast are* SEVEN MOUNTAINS, *on which the Woman sitteth.*

In St. John's age there was One City, a Great City, built on SEVEN HILLS,—Rome. The name of each of its Seven

Exerc. Baron. 16 ad A.D. 43; and cf. Heidegger, Myst. Bab. ii. pp. 79, 80.

[3] 2 Thess. ii. 7, and 1 Tim. iii. 16.

[4] 2 Thess. ii. 7.

[5] Rev. xvii. 18.

[6] Rev. xvii. 18.

[7] Rev. xvii. 18, "that GREAT CITY which *reigneth.*"

[8] Rev. xvii. 9.

Hills is well known :[9] in St. John's time Rome was usually called "*the Seven-hilled City.*"[1] She was celebrated as such in an annual national Festival.[2] And there is scarcely a Roman Poet of any note who has not spoken of Rome as a City seated on Seven Mountains. Virgil,[3] Horace, Tibullus, Propertius, Ovid, Silius Italicus, Statius, Martial, Claudian, Prudentius—in short, the unanimous Voice of Roman Poetry during more than five hundred years, beginning with the age of St. John, proclaimed Rome as "*the Seven-hilled City.*"

[9] Palatine, Quirinal, Aventine, Cælian, Viminal, Esquiline, Janiculan.

[1] ἡ πόλις ἡ ἑπτάλοφος, *Urbs Septicollis.*

[2] The national festival of *Septimontium.* Plutarch, Probl. Rom. p. 280 D : τὸ Σεπτιμούντιον ἄγουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν ἕβδομον λόφον τῇ πόλει προσκατανεμηθῆναι, καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἑπτάλοφον γενέσθαι.—Varro de L. L. : Dies *Septimontium* nominatus est ab his *septem montibus* in quibus Roma sita est.

[3] The passages referred to from these writers are as follows ;

Virgil, Georg. ii. 535. Æn. vi. 784 :—

Septemque una sibi muro circumdedit *arces.*

Horace, Carmen Sæc. 7 :—

Dîs, quibus *septem* placuere *colles.*

Tibullus, ii. v. 55 :—

Carpite nunc tauri de *septem montibus* herbas.

Propertius, iii. x. 57 :—

Septem urbs alta *jugis* toti quæ præsidet orbi.

Ovid, Trist. i. iv. 69 :—

Sed quæ de *septem* totum circumspicit orbem
Montibus imperii *Roma* deûmque locus.

Silius Italicus, xii. 606 :—

Defendere tecta
Dardana et in *septem* discurrere jusserat *arces.*

See also x. 587 ; xvi. 620.

Statius, Silv. iv. iii. 26 :—

Septem montibus admovere Baias.

Martial, iv. lxiv. 11 :—

Hinc *septem* dominos videre *montes,*
Et totam licet æstimare Romam.

Claudian, xii. 19 (ed. Gessner) :—

Aurea *septem*-geminas
Roma coronet *arces.*

See also xv. 194.

Prudentius, De Romano Martyre, 411 :—

Divûm favore cum puer Mavortius
Fundaret *arcem septicollem* Romulus.

Such are some of the expressions of Roman Poets for five centuries concerning Rome.

Nor is this all. The Apocalypse is illustrated, in this respect, from another source, equally obvious to the world —Coins.

On the Imperial Medals of that age, which are still preserved, we see Rome displayed as a Woman sitting on SEVEN HILLS, as she is represented in the Apocalypse.[4]

4. Fourthly, St. John gives another criterion by which the Apocalyptic City is to be identified. *The Woman which thou sawest* (he says) *is that Great City, which* REIGNETH *over the Kings of the Earth.*[5]

If we refer to the Latin Poets of St. John's age, we find that the Epithets commonly applied to Rome, are,[6] *The great, The mighty, The royal, Rome; The Queen of Nations; The Eternal City; The Mistress of the World.*

If, again, we contemplate the public feelings of the World as expressed on the Coins of that period, we there see Rome, as the great City, deified, crowned[7] with a mural diadem, holding in her palm a winged figure of Victory, which bears in its hand a Globe, the symbol of Rome's Conquests and Universal Sway.

Rome, then, was *that great City:* Rome *reigned* over the Kings of the Earth. Therefore the Woman is Rome.

5. Yet further, St. John gives us another characteristic. The Woman described by him as sitting on Seven Hills, and as reigning over the Kings of the Earth, is called BABYLON. *Upon her forehead was a name written—Mystery,* BABYLON *the Great.*[8] This name, as we have seen, is *not*

[4] See the coin of Vespasian, described by Capt. Smyth, Roman Coins, p. 310. Ackerman, i. p. 87: "Rome seated on seven hills; at the base Romulus and Remus suckled by the wolf; before, the Tiber personified." It may be seen in Gessneri Numismata, Tab. lvii. Cp. Vaillant, p. 30.

[5] Rev. xvii. 18.

[6] "Maxima rerum Roma." Virg. Æn. v. 600, 660. Manil. iv. 773 Propert. iv. 1. Hor. 1 Sat. v. 1. 1 Ep. vii. 44. Ovid, Met. xv. 445. See the passages cited by Elsner ad Apoc. xvii. 3; xviii. 7.

[7] See the figures described, and the citations collected, in Spence's Polymetis, p. 243, and Vaillant, Numismata Ærea Imperatorum, Paris, 1695, p. 205, "Dea Roma; Roma Æterna . . . dextrâ Victoriam tenens." See also 191, and Gessner, Tab. lviii. and lxii.

[8] Rev. xvii. 5.

to be taken literally; it cannot designate the Assyrian City on the Euphrates; but it designates some other great city which was *like* Babylon, and is therefore called by that name.

To apply this *geographically*; Babylon has found a remarkable parallel in Rome. Babylon (as S. Augustine says[9]) was the Eastern Rome: and Rome, the Western Babylon.

Babylon was situated in a vast plain: and every one has heard of the Campagna of Rome. Both cities are intersected by rivers. The soil of Babylon is described in Scripture as productive of *clay for brick, and slime, or bitumen, for morter*.[1] Witness the Inspired History of the building of Babel in that region. And the enormous brick Walls of Babylon have passed into a proverb.

Turn now to Rome. We there recognize a resemblance in these respects, in the long arched aqueducts of brick which still stretch across the Roman Campagna, and connect the City with the distant hills; and in the roads, paved with bituminous blocks, which joined the capital to the coast.

Again: the city of Babylon[2] was surrounded with pools, which, when it was destroyed, stagnated into swampy morasses, and now greatly increase the dreariness and unhealthiness of its desolate plain.

Let us now direct our eyes to the Campagna[3] of Rome, formerly peopled with cities, and alive with the stir of men. From the inundations of the Pomptine marshes, and from

[9] S. Aug. de Civ. Dei, xvi. 17; xviii. 2, 22. His words are, "Civitas Roma altera Babylon."—"Roma altera in Occidente Babylonia."—"Roma secunda Babylonia."

[1] Gen. xi. 3.

[2] See the authorities collected by Rennell, Geogr. of Herodotus, sect. xiv., and Heeren's Researches, vol. ii. pp. 122, 174.

[3] See Sir W. Gell's Rome and its Vicinity, Article Campagna, i. pp. 249—258. A distinguished Roman Catholic author, Chateaubriand, "Souvenirs d'Italie," p. 4, thus speaks of the Roman Campagna, "Figurez-vous quelque chose de la désolation de Tyr et de *Babylone* dont parle l'Écriture. On croit y entendre retentir cette malédiction du Prophète, *Venient tibi duo hæc subitò in die unâ, sterilitas et viduitas.*" Hence, Rome, as she is, though *a great City*, yet might well be represented by St. John *as in the wilderness*. (Rev. xvii. 3.)

the inveterate malaria of many centuries, and from the fetid miasma brooding over its sulphureous springs and brooks, it is now scarcely habitable; and by its wild and lonely aspect presents a sad prognostic of its future destiny; and seems to sound a solemn alarm and warning into the ear of Faith, that the likeness will one day be stronger between Babylon and Rome.

Here are some striking similitudes; and we must not neglect the *historical* parallel between Babylon and Rome. Babylon had been and was the Queen of the East, in the age of the Hebrew Prophets; and Rome was the Mistress of the West, when St. John wrote. Babylon was called *the Golden City, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency.*[4] She claimed Eternity and Universal Supremacy. She said in her heart, *I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God.*[5] *I shall be a Lady for ever. I am, and none else beside me: I shall not sit as a Widow, neither shall I know the loss of children.*[6] In these respects also, Babylon was imitated by Rome. She also called herself the *Golden City*, the *Eternal City.*[7]

Again: the King of Babylon *was the rod of God's anger, and the staff of His indignation*[8] against Jerusalem for its rebellion against Him. Babylon was employed by God to punish the sins of Sion, and to lay her walls in the dust. So, in St. John's own age, the Imperial legions of Rome were sent by God to chastise the guilty City which had crucified His beloved Son.

Again: the Sacred Vessels of God's Temple at Jerusalem were carried from Sion to Babylon, and were displayed in

[4] Isa. xiii. 19; xiv. 4.

[5] Isa. xiv. 13.

[6] Isa. xlvii. 7, 8.

[7] The words ROMAE ÆTERNAE are found on the imperial coins of Rome, e. g. on those of Gallienus, Tacitus, Probus, Gordian, and others. The Jupiter of Virgil speaks the national language when he says (Æn. i. 278),—

> "His ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono;
> IMPERIUM SINE FINE DEDI."

The Pope is called *Urbis Æternæ* Episcopus, by Ammian. Marcellin xv. 7. Cf. xiv. 6; xvi. 10; xix. 10.

[8] Isa. x. 5.

triumph on the table at the royal banquet in that fatal night, when *the fingers of a man's hand came forth from the Wall*[9] and terrified the King.[1]

So, the Sacred Vessels of the Jewish Temple, which were restored by Cyrus, and the Book of the Law, and the Golden Candlestick,[2] and the Table of Shewbread, were carried captive in a triumphal procession to the Roman Capitol: and even now their effigies may be seen at Rome, carved in sculpture on one of the sides of the triumphal Arch of Titus, the Imperial Conqueror of Jerusalem.

6. And what now, it may be asked, was the language of St. John's own age on this subject? Did it, or did it not, recognize Rome in Babylon?

To speak, first, of the Jews. So strong was their sense of the analogy between these two Cities, that the name which they commonly gave to Rome was *Babylon*.[3] They felt that in their own history God had identified the two. And, it may be added, as remarkable, that, as the *restoration* of the Jews by Cyrus did not take place till Babylon was taken, and then ensued immediately, so it is, and has long been, a deeply-rooted opinion and a common proverb among the Jews, that "the redemption of Israel will not be accomplished, before Rome is destroyed."[4]

[9] Dan. v. 5, 6.

[1] At the time when the victorious Persians rushed into the city, the princes of Babylon were engaged in festivities. The reader may compare Daniel v. 1—30, and the terrible description Isa. xxi., with Xenophon, Cyr. vii. 5 (p. 403, ed. Oxon. 1820), who says, that the guards of the palace were intoxicated.

[2] Joseph. Bell. Jud. vii. 5, where he describes the candlestick. The Apocalyptic phrase, "*I will remove thy Candlestick*" (Rev. ii. 5), receives a remarkable illustration from this procession. The Jewish Candlestick is represented on a Coin of Vespasian. Gessner, Tab. lviii., with the legend "HIEROSOLYMA CAPTA."

[3] Schöttgen, Hor. Hebr. p. 1125. Wetstein in Apoc. xvii. 18. Winer, Biblisch. Realwörterbuch, ii. p. 395, "Schon die *Juden* pflegten das ihnen verhasste *Rom Babylon* zu nennen." Cp. Mede's Works, p. 902.

[4] R. Kimchi in Abdiam: עם הרבן אדום תחיה תשיעת ישראל, *cum devastabitur Roma* (*Edom*), *erit redemtio Israeli*. See the authorities in the preceding note. The opinion of the Rabbis is, that this destruction will be by fire. See the authorities in Vitringa, p. 792, note.

Next, How were these Chapters of the Apocalypse, concerning Babylon, understood by Christian writers succeeding St. John?

Before this question is answered, one remark may be made. When St. John wrote, Rome was Queen of the World, and whenever she looked on Christianity, it was with an evil eye.

St. John himself was a martyr in will for the faith; he wrote the Apocalypse in Patmos, to which he was sent by Rome as a prisoner, *for the testimony of Jesus Christ.*[5] He could not speak clearly concerning Rome without exasperating her.[6] The same observation applies to the earliest Interpreters of the Apocalypse. The identification of Rome with Babylon would have been resented as treason against her. And we know that the followers of Christ were commonly regarded by Roman writers as ill affected to her, and even as the cause of her calamities.

Now, mark the reply which was made to such allegations as these by the ancient advocates of Christianity. They did *not deny* that Rome *was* aimed at in their inspired prophecies; but they averred that it was their bounden duty and interest to wish well to the existing *empire* of Rome, because, as Paul had told the Thessalonians,[7] the *imperial* Government *letted*,—that is, hindered, prevented, or postponed,—the rise[8] of *another* Power in its place, to

[5] Rev. i. 9.

[6] Hence S. Jerome (ad Algasiam, Qu. xi. vol. iv. p. 209) explains the reserve of St. Paul in 2 Thess. ii. 3: Si *apertè* audacterque dixisset, "Non veniet Antichristus, nisi priùs *Romanum deleatur Imperium*," justa causa persecutionis in orientem tunc Ecclesiam consurgere videbatur; and Remigius, B. P. M. viii. 1018: Obscurè locutus est, ne forte aliquis Romanorum legeret hanc Epistolam, et excitaret contra se aliosque Christianos persecutionem illorum *qui se putabant semper regnaturos in mundo.* See also S. Hieron. in Hierem. xxv.

[7] 2 Thess. ii. 6, 7.

[8] Tertullian de Resurr. Carnis, c. 24. S. Chrysostom and Theophylact on 2 Thess. ii. S. Hippolytus de Antichristo, c. 49. S. Jerome ad Algas. Qu. xi. ad 2 Thess. ii. 7, in Hierem. xxv. 26: Eum qui nunc tenet (*now letteth*), Romanum Imperium ostendit. His words on Dan. vii. are very striking: "*Omnes* Scriptores Ecclesiastici tradiderunt, quando *regnum* est *destruendum Romanorum*," that then the little horn of Daniel (the beast of the Apocalypse) would *arise*. See my note on Dan. vii. 8.

which they could *not* wish well, inasmuch as it would be more injurious to the Gospel, than the *heathen Empire* of Rome.

Let these things be candidly considered, and it will appear remarkable, that we should have so large an amount of assertion from the early Christian Church that the Babylon of the Apocalypse is Rome.

We find that among the early Christians some were so much impressed with this identity, that they even supposed, that the Babylon, from which St. Peter dates his first Epistle,[9] was Rome. This supposition was doubtless caused by the common belief among Christians as to the typical relation of Babylon to Rome, and proves how strong that belief was.

A very ancient witness on this subject is Irenæus. He was one of the disciples of Polycarp, the scholar of St. John, and one of the most learned among the writers of the Eastern Church of that age; and he lived and died in the West, at Lyons in Gaul, of which he was Bishop. Referring to the Apocalypse, he says that the world must wait till the Roman Empire is divided into several kingdoms, signified by the ten Horns of the Beast; and that, *when* these kingdoms are increasing in might, then a great Power will arise, which will overawe these kingdoms, and will be *the Abomination of Desolation*, and will be characterized by the number of the Name of the Beast predicted by St. John. And, proceeding to speak of this number, he adds, that it is wiser to wait till the Prophecy is fulfilled, than to pronounce confidently upon it; but that, in his own opinion, the word Λατεῖνος, *Latinus*, which contains the requisite number, expresses that power. And why, it may be asked, does he fix upon *this* word? "Because the *Latins* (he says, or *Romans*) are they *who now*

[9] Euseb. ii. 15: τοῦ Μάρκου μνημονεύειν τὸν Πέτρον ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐπιστολῇ ἣν καὶ συντάξαι φασὶν ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ῥώμης, σημαίνειν τε τοῦτ' αὐτὸν τὴν πόλιν τροπικώτερον Βαβυλῶνα προσειπόντα (1 Pet. v. 13). Eusebius is speaking of Clemens Alexandrinus and, perhaps, Papias the Scholar of St. John.—S. Hieron. in Esa. xlvii. 1: Non ipsam Babylonem quidam sed Romanam urbem interpretantur, quæ in Apocalypsi et in Epistolâ Petri spiritualiter *Babylon* appellatur. 1 Pet. v. 13.

reign;" alluding manifestly to the words of St. John, *The Woman which thou sawest is that great City, which reigneth over the Kings of the Earth.*[1]

It is therefore clear, that S. Irenæus applied the prophecies of St. John, concerning the Woman on the Seven Hills, the Woman which *reigneth*, the Woman which is *Babylon*, to the City of *Rome*.

One of the most learned of the Christian Fathers of the Latin Church of that age was Tertullian. He affirms that the Christians of his day *pray for* the duration of the Roman *Empire*.[2] And why? Because its fall would be succeeded by the rise of another more terrible power. And in two places of his works he uses these words:[3]—"Names are employed by us as signs. Thus Samaria is a sign of Idolatry, Egypt is a symbol of Malediction, and, in like manner, in the writings of our own St. John, *Babylon* is a *figure of the Roman City*, mighty, proud of its sway, and fiercely persecuting the Saints."

If also we refer to those ancient writers who composed Commentaries on the Apocalypse, we find the same interpretation meeting us from various quarters, and from the earliest times, and continued in an uninterrupted series down to our own day.

The earliest extant Commentary on the Apocalypse is by a Bishop and Martyr of Pannonia, Victorinus, in the third century. He says, "*the City of Babylon, that is, Rome:*

[1] S. Iren. v. 30, pp. 448, 449, ed. Grabe. We may insert a testimony from Hippolytus, a Scholar of Irenæus (Phot. Cod. 121, and see Cave, i. 102), de Christo et Antichristo, § 36, οὗτος Ἰωάννης ἐν Πάτμῳ τῇ νήσῳ ὢν ὁρᾷ Ἀποκάλυψιν μυστηρίων φρικτῶν . . . λέγε μοι, μακάριε Ἰωάννη, Ἀπόστολε τοῦ Κυρίου, τί εἶδες καὶ ἤκουσας περὶ Βαβυλῶνος; καὶ γὰρ αὐτή σε ἐξώρισε (she exiled thee), referring to St. John's banishment by the *Roman* Emperor.

[2] Tertullian, Apol. c. 32: Est et alia major necessitas nobis (Christianis) orandi pro Imperatoribus, etiam pro omni statu Imperii rebusque Romanis, quippe qui vim maximam universo Orbi imminentem Romani Imperii commeatu scimus retardari (alluding to St. Paul's ὁ κατέχων, *he that letteth*). Hence, in cap. 39, he says: Oramus pro Imperatoribus . . . pro rerum quiete, pro morâ finis. And see the note of Rigaltius.

[3] Tertullian adv. Jud. c. 9; and adv. Marcion. iii. c. 13.

the City on seven hills, that is, Rome; and, *The Kings of the Earth will hate the harlot, that is, Rome.*"[4]

Not to mention more authorities, the same language is echoed from the East in the Commentaries of two Bishops of Cappadocia, Andreas[5] and Arethas; the former of whom expounded the Apocalypse in the sixth century; and from Italy and Rome itself by Cassiodorus,[6] first a Senator of that city, and then an Ecclesiastic; and from Africa by Primasius,[7] a Bishop of Adrumetum, in the sixth century.

Thus an appeal has been made to the best Expositors in the best ages of the Church—of whom some lived before Rome had become Christian, and some after—who were exempt from the partialities and prejudices of modern times, and who, to say the least, had no personal reasons for inventing and promulgating such an Interpretation as this, but had many inducements to suppress it—and we find that they declare, that the Babylon of the Apocalypse is Rome.

7. To sum up the evidence on this portion of the inquiry; We have in our hands a Book, dictated by the Holy Spirit to St. John, the beloved Disciple, the blessed Evangelist, the last surviving Apostle,—a Book predicting events from the day in which it was written even *to the end of time;* a Book designed for the *perpetual* warning of the Church, and commended to her pious meditation in solemn and affec-

[4] See S. Victorinus in Apoc. Bibl. Pat. Max. iii. pp. 416, 419, 420.

[5] Arethas (Cramer, Catena, p. 427): *πόρνην τὴν παλαιὰν ὑπειλήφασι Ῥώμην*, p. 429. *Βαβυλῶνα ἢ καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Ῥώμην τὴν παλαιὰν ἢ καὶ τὴν νέαν.* See also p. 430.—Andreas, Bibl. P. Max. v. 623, where he asserts that "most of the ancient Interpreters in the Church affirm that the Apocalyptic prophecies concerning Babylon regard Rome;" and that when the Man of Sin "appears, it will be as sovereign of Rome, and (in the opinion of some, p. 621) in the Temple, or Church, of God." These testimonies from Andreas and Arethas are recorded by them as expositions of others.

[6] See his Complexiones in Apocalypsim, xxv. p. 235: Meretricem sedentem suprà Bestiam, quæ habebat capita septem, nonnulli de Romanâ volunt intelligere civitate, quæ suprà *septem montes sedet*, et mundum *singulari ditione* possidet.

Primasius, Bibl. Patr. M. x. p. 326: Romam, quæ super septem montes præsidet, significans.

tionate terms. In it we behold a description, traced by the divine finger, of a proud and prosperous Power, claiming universal homage, and exercising mighty dominion: a Power enthroned upon *many waters, which are Peoples, and Multitudes, and Nations, and Tongues:*[8] a Power arrogating Eternity by calling herself *a Queen for ever:* a Power, whose prime agent, by his lamb-like aspect,[9] bears a semblance of Christian purity, and yet, from his sounding words and cruel deeds, is compared to a Dragon: a Power beguiling men from the pure faith, and trafficking in human souls,[1] tempting them to commit spiritual harlotry, alluring them to herself by gaudy colours and glittering jewels, and holding in her hand a golden cup of enchantments, by which she intoxicates the world, and makes it reel at her feet.

This power, so described in the Apocalypse, is identified in this divinely inspired Book with

(1) a Great City; and that City is described as

(2) seated on *seven Hills.* It is also characterized as

(3) *that Great* City, which *reigned* over the Kings of the Earth in the time of St. John. And

(4) it is called *Babylon.*

Having contemplated these characteristics of this prophetic description, we pause, and consider,—*what* City corresponds to it?

It *cannot* be the *literal* Babylon, for *she* was not built on seven hills, nor was she the Queen of the Earth in St. John's age. It is some *Great City* which then existed, and would continue to exist to our age. Among the very few Great Cities which then were, and still survive, One was seated on Seven Hills. She was universally recognized in St. John's age as *the* Seven-hilled City. She is described as such by the general voice of her own most celebrated writers for five centuries; and she has ever since continued to be so characterized. She is represented as such on her own Coinage, the Coinage of the World. This same City, and *no other,* then *reigned* over the Kings of the Earth. She exercised Universal Sovereignty, and boasted herself Eternal. This

[8] Rev. xvii. 1, 15.

[9] Rev. xiii. 11.

[1] Rev. xviii. 13.

same City resembled Babylon in many striking respects;—in dominion, in wealth, in physical position, and in historical acts, especially with regard to the Ancient Church and People of God. This same City was commonly *called* Babylon by St. John's own countrymen, and by his disciples. And, finally, the voice of the Christian Church, in the age of St. John himself, and for many centuries after it, has given an almost unanimous verdict on this subject;—that the Seven-hilled City, that Great City, the Queen of the Earth, Babylon the Great of the Apocalypse, is the City of ROME.

8. So strong is the evidence of this identity, that the Divines of Papal Rome herself acknowledge it. It is enough to mention three most eminent among them,—Cardinal Bellarmine, Cardinal Baronius, and the famous French Bishop, Bossuet.

"St. John in the Apocalypse," says Cardinal Bellarmine,[3] "calls Rome *Babylon;* for *no other* city besides Rome *reigned* in his age over the Kings of the Earth, and it is well known that Rome was seated upon *Seven Hills.*"

"It is confessed by *all,*" says Cardinal Baronius,[4] "that Rome is signified in the Apocalypse by the name of *Babylon.*"

And the language of the celebrated French Prelate, Bossuet,[5] in his Exposition of the Book of Revelation, is: "The

[2] Similar avowals might be cited from other eminent Romish Theologians, e. g. Salmeron, Alcasar, Maldonatus.

[3] The words of Cardinal Bellarmine are as follows (Bellarmine de Rom. Pont. ii. c. 2, § Prætereà, tom. i. p. 232, ed. Colon. 1615): "Prætereà Joannes in Apocalypsi passim *Romam* vocat *Babylonem,* ut Tertullianus annotavit lib. 3 contra Marcionem, et apertè colligitur ex capite xvii. Apocalypsis, ubi dicitur Babylon magna sedere *suprà septem montes et habere imperium super reges terræ.* Nec enim alia civitas est, quæ Joannis tempore regnum habuerit super reges terræ quàm Roma, et notissimum est suprà septem colles Romam ædificatam esse."

[4] Baronius, Annal. ad A.D. 45, num. xvi.: "In Apocalypsi Joannis *Romam Babylonis* notatam esse nomine, in *confesso est apud omnes.*"

[5] Bossuet, Préf. sur l'Apocalypse, § vii.: "C'est une tradition de *tous les Pères* que la *Babylone* de l'Apocalypse c'est l'ancienne *Rome.* Tous les Pères ont tenu le même langage. Avec des traits si marqués c'est une énigme aisée à déchiffrer que *Rome* sous la figure de *Babylone.*"

features (in the Apocalypse) are so marked, that it is easy to decipher Rome under the figure of *Babylon.*"

Such is the avowal of the most learned Divines of Papal Rome.

Here then, we see, the question is brought into a narrow compass. The Babylon of the Apocalypse, it is allowed by Romish as well as Protestant writers, is the *City* of *Rome.* Is it also the *Church* of *Rome ?* This will be considered in the next Chapter.

CHAPTER II.

WHETHER BABYLON IN THE APOCALYPSE IS THE CHURCH OF ROME.

It may now be asked,—

Since such heavy judgments are denounced on Babylon in the Apocalypse, how could any persons acknowledge Rome to be the Apocalyptic Babylon, and yet regard her as the Mother and Mistress of Churches ?

The answer is, the Divines of Rome affirm that what St. John predicted of Babylon, concerns Rome as a *City,* but not as a *Church.* And, some of them add, that it concerned *ancient heathen* Rome, but does not refer to it as *Christian.*[6]

In support of this opinion it is alleged by them, for instance by Bossuet, who has most laboured this point, in his Commentary on the Apocalypse,[7] that the ancient Christian Fathers did indeed identify the Apocalyptic Babylon with the *City* of Rome; but he affirms, that they did *not* identify it with the *Church* of Rome; and he adds that every person of judgment will prefer the interpretation of the ancient

[6] "Non Romana *Ecclesia* est Babylonis nomine nuncupata, sed ipsa tantummodo civitas, cum adversus Ecclesiam bellum gereret." Baron. Ann. A.D. 45, s. num. xviii.

"Non contra *Ecclesiam* Romanam, sed contra Gentilitatem Romanam, Joannes est locutus." Bellarm. de Pontif. ii. c. ii.

"La Babylone, dont saint Jean prédit la chute, étoit Rome conquérante, et son empire; et la chute de Rome arrivée sous Alaric est un dénoûment de la prophétie de saint Jean." Bossuet, Préf. sur l'Apoc. § viii.

[7] Vol. xxiv. of his works, ed. Paris, 1827.

Fathers to that of those modern Expositors who identify Babylon with *the Church* of Rome.

But on this allegation it may be observed,—

The Fathers who lived in the first three centuries, that is, who flourished *before* Rome *became* Christian, recognized the *City* of Rome in the Apocalyptic Babylon; so did the Fathers who lived in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, when Rome was becoming, and in the end did become, Christian. And *we* follow the Fathers, *as far as they go*. *We*, with them, see the City of Rome in Babylon. But the question is,—Ought we not to see something *more?*

And here we make a distinction. *St. John* was inspired by the Holy Ghost; *he* was a *prophet*, and was enabled to foresee and foretell what the Church of Rome *would become*. But the *Fathers* were *not* Prophets; they knew Rome only as she *was* in their own age; and *we* do not pretend that the Church of Rome was *then*, what she is *now*.

The Fathers *could* not *foresee* that, in the sixteenth century after Christ, the Church of Rome, at the Council of Trent, would add Twelve Articles to the Nicene Creed, and that she would impose those articles on all men, as terms of communion, and as necessary to salvation. The Fathers could not foresee, that in the nineteenth century after Christ the Church of Rome would add another new article to "*the faith once delivered to the Saints*"[8] by decreeing that the Blessed Virgin Mary was exempt from original sin.[9] They would have recoiled from such a notion, as incredible. Indeed one of our strongest objections to the Church of Rome is, that she enforces doctrines which the Ancient *Fathers never knew*, and which (as the Romish advocates of the *Doctrine of Development* allow) she herself did not explicitly profess for many centuries. And, *if* she *had held* these doctrines in the days of the ancient Fathers, then our argument against the *novelty* of these doctrines would fall to the ground.

[8] Jude 3.

[9] As was done on Dec. 8, 1854, when the Church of Rome made "the Immaculate Conception" to be an article of Faith.

Our answer therefore is :—We do *not* pretend, that, in the age of the Fathers, the *Church* of Rome was Babylon; but the question to be considered is, whether she did not *become* Babylon, by *adopting* and *enforcing* doctrines which neither they nor she held or dreamt of in their age; and whether, by now holding those doctrines, and by anathematizing all who do not receive them, she does not identify herself with the Apocalyptic Babylon, who requires *all men to drink of her cup*.[1] And we think, that if the Fathers were alive, they would join with us in the inquiry, whether she is Babylon, or no?

The truth also is, that Bossuet misrepresents the interpretation which identifies the Church of Rome with Babylon. He calls it "a Protestant interpretation;" by which he means that it is a *modern* interpretation, contemporary with, or subsequent to, the Reformation in the sixteenth century.

But this is an oversight. For no sooner did the Church of Rome *begin* to put forth her present claims, and enforce her modern creed, than it was proclaimed by many witnesses, that by so doing she was identifying herself with the Babylon of the Apocalypse.

Dating from Pope Gregory the First, who made a prophetic protest against the title of Universal Bishop at the close of the sixth century, we can trace[2] a succession of such witnesses to this day. In that series we may enumerate the celebrated Peter of Blois, the Waldenses, and Joachim of Calabria,[3] Ubertinus de Casali, Peter Olivi,[4]

[1] Rev. xiv. 8; xviii. 3.

[2] See the authorities in Wolfii Lectiones Memorabiles, ii. pp. 839—841; also in i. 376, 384, 408, 418, 429, 438, 443, 488, 597, 600, 610; and in Gerhard, Confessio Catholica, p. 583, sqq. ed. Francofurti, 1679. See also Abp. Ussher de Christ. Eccl. Success. c. ii. p. 36; c. v. p. 109; c. vii. p. 196. Illyric. Catal. Test. p. 1558. Grosstête, Bp. of Lincoln, ap. M. Paris, ad A.D. 1253. The Bishop's dying words on this subject are very striking. See also Allix, Hist. of the Churches of Piedmont, p. 207.

[3] See Appendix C of the Author's Edition of the Apocalypse, in the original Greek, with an English translation and Harmony, Lond. 1849.

[4] See Appendix D and E of the Volume referred to above. It must be remembered, also, that only they who were ready to incur great perils for

Marsilius of Padua, and the illustrious names of Dante and Petrarch.[5]

The interpretation, which identifies the Church of Rome with the Apocalyptic Babylon, does *not date from* the Reformation; the truth is, that it was *prior* to the Reformation, and did much to *produce* the Reformation.

In the seventh and following centuries, the *Church* of Rome was united with the *City* of Rome, by the junction of the temporal and spiritual Powers in the Person of the Roman Pontiff; and when the Church of Rome began to put forth her new dogmas, and to enforce them as necessary to salvation, then it was publicly affirmed by many (although she burnt some who affirmed it), that she was fulfilling the Apocalyptic prophecies concerning Babylon. And though the destruction of *heathen* Rome by the Goths in the fifth century was a most striking event, yet *not a single*[6] *witness of any antiquity* can be cited in favour of the Exposition of Bossuet and his co-religionists, who see a fulfilment of the predictions of the Apocalypse, concerning the destruction of Babylon, in the *fall* of *heathen* Rome by the sword of Alaric.

Indeed, *that* exposition is a *modern* one; it is an afterthought; and has been devised by Bossuet and others to meet the other, which *they* call the *Protestant,* interpretation. The identification of the Apocalyptic Babylon with *ancient Heathen Rome,* as its adequate antitype, is an invention of *modern Papal Rome.*

But let us now suppose, for argument's sake, with Bossuet and the great body of Romish Interpreters, that the

the truth, would venture to promulgate this Exposition. Peter Olivi was condemned as a heretic, and the Sarabaites were burnt for teaching "Ecclesiam Romanam magnam esse meretricem." See Appendix D, p. 143, and Appendix E, pp. 144, 145.

[5] See the numerous passages collected from Dante by Wolfe, pp. 610—613; from Petrarch, ibid. pp. 677—684; and from Dante and Petrarch in Rossetti's Spirito Antipapale, Lond. 1832.

[6] Primasius, Bede, Haymo, Aquinas, and Ambrosius Ansbertus, who lived either *before* the corruptions of Rome became flagrant, or wrote under her influence, generalize some of these predictions into denunciations against Heresy; but *not one of them* supposed them to have been exhausted in the destruction of *heathen Rome.*

prophecies of the Apocalypse concerned Rome only as a *City*, a *pagan* City, and do *not* concern her now both as a City and a *Church*. And let us also suppose with them, that Rome *is*, as they affirm her to be, the "Mother and Mistress of all Churches;" and that there is one thing needful for all men—as all Romish Divines assert—namely, to be in communion with Rome.

What then is the state of the case?

Here is the Apocalypse, a prophetical Book, as they allow, dictated by the Holy Ghost, revealing the History of Christianity from the Apostolic age to Christ's Second Advent, and designed for the edification and comfort of the faithful members of the Church in the dangers, trials, difficulties, and perplexities which awaited them. Under such circumstances as these, nothing would have been more natural, nothing, we may almost add, more requisite, than that St. John should have said to the followers of Christ,—You will, I foresee, be assailed by violence from without, and by heresies and schisms from within; you will be tempted to swerve from the faith. But be of good cheer, you need not be distressed, you need not be perplexed. There is *one* Church, which cannot err, and will never fail,—the Church of *Rome*. Rome is *now* a Heathen City, the Queen of the Gentile World; but Rome will, ere long, become the Capital of Christendom. And the Church of Rome is, by Christ's appointment, the Mother and Mistress of Churches. He, who *now* rules at Rome, is a Pagan Prince; but when a few years have elapsed, the sovereignty of Rome will pass into *other* hands: it will be swayed for more than a thousand years by the Bishop of Rome. He is infallible; he is the Arbiter of the Faith; his chair is the Centre of Unity; he is the Vicar of Christ. One thing is indispensable: remain in communion with *him*. Obey him; then nothing can harm you, nothing can disturb you. You will be safe, you will be blessed, for ever.

What a simple rule! how easy of application! Can it be imagined, that the Author of the Apocalypse would not have commended it? Can it be imagined that St. John—or, rather, the Spirit of God Who wrote by him,—would

have been silent on this most momentous matter? that He, when *writing a prophetic history of the Church*, would not have breathed a syllable about it? And yet, *if* the Church of Rome *is not* the Harlot City, *if* she is *not* Babylon, then she is not *even once mentioned* in the Apocalypse. Indeed it is affirmed by Bossuet, that there "*is not a single trace of the Church of Rome in this whole book.*"[7] Her very existence is ignored. And yet we are assured by all Romish Divines and Roman Pontiffs, that Rome is "the Mother and Mistress of Churches," and that communion with the see of Rome is indispensable, and that subjection to her laws is necessary to salvation. . . . How incredible!

Another objection may be considered here.

Some persons have alleged, that since Prophecy is best interpreted by its *fulfilment*, and since *all* do *not agree* in interpreting these Apocalyptic prophecies in such a manner as to apply them *to Rome*, and since *Rome denies* that they are applicable to herself, therefore they *ought not to be so interpreted*.

But a little consideration will show the fallacy of this allegation.

It is indeed true, that Prophecy *is* best interpreted by its fulfilment; and, *if* it *cannot* be proved to the satisfaction of candid, intelligent, and attentive inquirers, that these Prophecies *have* been partly fulfilled in the Church of Rome, then assuredly there is a strong presumption that they have *not* been so fulfilled.

But,—because the fulfilment is not universally acknowledged, and, particularly, not acknowledged by the Church of Rome,—it is *not* therefore true, that they have not been fulfilled.

All Christians agree, that the Prophecies of the *Old* Testament, concerning the *Messiah*, *have* now been fulfilled for near *two thousand years* in the person of *Jesus Christ*. And yet, up to this hour, the heathens do not believe this; and, what is more, the *Jews*, who held those prophecies in

[7] Pref. x. Bossuet calls "Rome une Eglise, dont il n'y a *aucun vestige dans* tout le livre."

their hands, and were the most concerned in the accomplishment of those prophecies, do not acknowledge their fulfilment, but obstinately deny it.

But, let us ask,—Does this denial of that accomplishment in any degree invalidate the truth of those prophecies, or render their fulfilment less certain? Assuredly not. Nay, it *confirms* it. For, this *incredulity* of the Jews was *predicted* in those prophecies: "*Lord, who hath believed our report?*"[8] is the question of the prophet Isaiah.

In like manner, it is futile to allege, that these prophecies of the Apocalypse do *not* point at the Church of *Rome, because* the Church of Rome does not *acknowledge* that they concern her. Indeed this her scepticism concerning them is a *corroboration* of the proof of their fulfilment. Just as it was foretold in the prophecies of the *Old* Testament, that the *Jews* would not *believe their* fulfilment, so in like manner it is foretold in those of the Apocalypse, that *she* whom *they do* concern will not believe them, and will *not repent,*[9] but will be stricken with judicial blindness, and be hardened by God's judgments; in a word, that Babylon will be Babylon to the end.

Therefore, *if* the Church of Rome is Babylon, we have no reason to be surprised that she *does not* acknowledge, and we have no reason to expect that she *will* acknowledge, that *she* herself is the subject of these prophecies, and is there portrayed as Babylon.

Let us observe here the mysterious dealings of God. The *Jews* hold in their hands, and revere as *divine,* the *Old Testament.* And from the Old Testament the Church of Christ proves her own cause against the Jews. And so the Church of *Rome* holds in her hands the *Apocalypse;* she acknowledges it to be the work of St. John, and requires all men to receive it as *divinely inspired.*[1] And may not perhaps the Church of *Christ* prove from it her own cause against Rome?

[8] Isa. liii. 1. John xii. 38.

[9] Rev. ix. 20; xvi. 9—11.

[1] See Concil. Tridentin. Sess. iv., where "Apocalypsis Joannis Apostoli" is specified in the Roman Canon of Scripture.

The true question therefore, we see, is—not whether the *Church of Rome acknowledges*,—no, nor whether persons *of our own Communion acknowledge*, that these prophecies have been already fulfilled, or are being fulfilled, and will be completely fulfilled, in the Church of Rome,—but, whether there is evidence to convince a fair, honest, and unprejudiced mind that such is the case.

This is the question before us.

Let us therefore proceed with our argument. The Woman, called the "*Harlot*,"[2] and "*Babylon*," or "the *Great City*," the "*City on Seven Hills*," the City of Rome, sits on the Beast as on a throne, that is, governs it, and is supported by it. The Beast is represented as having *ten Horns*[3] *bearing Crowns*,[4] which, we are taught, are *ten Kings*, or *Kingdoms;* and these, it is added, *had not received power* in St. John's age, but were afterwards to receive it *with the Beast*.[5]

Now, *if*, with Bossuet and his co-religionists, we imagine the Woman on the Beast to be *Heathen*, and *not* Christian Rome, then let us ask, Where, in that case, were these Ten Kingdoms, which did *not* exist in St. John's age, and which were to arise and receive power together with Rome? *Heathen* Rome reigned *alone*, and was *destroyed*, *before* any such kingdoms arose. None can be found to correspond to St. John's description.

[2] Heidegger's note deserves attention (Myst. Babylon, i. 53): "*Meretrix* a *Bestiâ* distinguenda est. Meretrix in Bestiâ sedet, eamque regit, subjicit, et ad facienda imperata flectit. Bestia, multitudo regnum constituens, meretricem *βαστάζει* . . . Eadem utrobique Babylon: sed parte imperante et parente discreta."

[3] These Ten Horns, as Mede observes, are not to be regarded as distributed among the Seven Heads, but as all issuing from the Seventh Head.

[4] Rev. xiii. 1. The word here rendered *crowns* is *διαδήματα*, the emblem of *royalty*, distinguished from *στέφανος* (Rev. vi. 2), the crown of *victory*. Both are ascribed to CHRIST. See Rev. vi. 2; xix. 12.

[5] Rev. xvii. 12, *μίαν ὥραν μετὰ τοῦ θηρίου*. Cf. Dan. vii. 7, where the horns are kingdoms; and this exposition is approved by our best Divines; e. g. Bp. Andrewes, Tortura Torti, p. 181; Bp. Butler, Analogy, ii. 7.

But now adopt, again, the other supposition. Let the Beast, with the Woman enthroned upon it, represent the City and *Church* planted on the Seven Hills on which the Woman sits. Let it represent the *Church of Rome.* Then all is plain. When the heathen *Empire* of Rome fell, new Kingdoms arose from its ruins. These were the horns of the Beast which then sprouted up; then the Church of Rome increased in strength; and these Kingdoms *received power with* her.

Look again at the prophecy. *These kings,* we read, *give their power and strength to the Beast.* They reign, *as kings,* at the same time with the Beast. *As kings*—that is, they are *called* kings—but the Beast is the real Sovereign of their subjects. And what is the fact? The European Kingdoms, which arose at the dissolution of the Roman Empire, surrendered themselves to the dominion of the Church of Rome, and were, for many centuries, subject to the Papacy. The Woman, who sat upon the Beast, had her hand upon the Horns, and held them firmly in her grasp. She still treats them as her subjects. The Papal Coins proclaim this. "*Omnes Reges servient ei.*" "*Gens et Regnum, quod tibi non servierit, peribit.*"[6] Such are her claims; and at the Coronation of every Pontiff she thus accosts him: "Know thyself to be *the Father of Kings and Princes, Ruler of the World.*" These are the words which he assumes to himself,[7] when the papal Tiara is placed on his brow. Thus in the claim of the Church of Rome to exercise sway over the Kings of the earth, and in that amplitude of dominion and plenitude of felicity, to which she has appealed for so many generations as a proof that she is favoured by Heaven, we recognize another proof that the Babylon of the Apocalypse, the Woman on the Beast, to whom *Kings* were to *give their power and strength,* is no other than the *Church of Rome.*

Still further: It is prophesied in the Apocalypse that some of the Horns, or kingdoms, which were to receive power

[6] See the Papal Coins; Paris, 1679, pp. 50, 58.

[7] These words were addressed to Pope Pius IX., on his accession to the Papacy, on the 21st June, 1846.

together with the Beast, will one day rise against her, and *eat the flesh* of the Harlot, *and burn her with fire*.[8]

Now, again suppose, for argument's sake, that the Woman on the Beast was *Heathen* Rome. Then, we readily allow, that Alaric with his Goths, Attila with his Huns, Genseric with his Vandals, Odoacer with his Heruli, did indeed sack the City of Rome.[9] But *when* did *they* ever *receive power together with* Rome? when did *they give their power* and their strength to *Heathen* Rome? Never. *If*, therefore, the Woman upon the Beast is the *City* of *Pagan* Rome, then the Prophecy of St. John has failed; which, since it is from God, is impossible.

But *Pagan* Rome has long since ceased to be. Therefore, these predictions *cannot* concern *Pagan* Rome. But (as Romanists themselves acknowledge) they do concern the Seven-hilled City, Rome; and, therefore, they point at that City in which the Bishop of Rome now rules. And the marvel predicted by the Apocalypse is this—and a stupendous mystery it is—that some of the Powers of the Earth, which received strength with the Beast, and at one time gave up their might to it, would, under the overruling sway of God's retributive justice, arise against the Woman seated on the Beast, and "*tear her flesh*," and burn her with fire.[1] And, what is still more marvellous, they will do this, although, in the first instance, they have been leagued with the Beast and with the False Prophet,[2] or False Teacher, who is the Ally of the Beast, on whom the Woman sits as a Queen, in opposition to Christ: and it is foretold, that they will punish Rome in a mysterious transport of indignation, and in a wild ecstasy of revenge.

Such is the prophecy of St. John. And let us ask the candid reader,—Is not this prophecy even now in course of fulfilment, in the eyes of the World?

Of all the princely houses of Europe that were once devoted to the Roman Papacy, none was a more abject vassal

[8] Rev. xvii. 16.

[9] Alaric, A.D. 410; Attila, A.D. 452; Genseric, A.D. 455; Odoacer, A.D. 476.

[1] Rev. xvii. 16.

[2] Rev. xvii. 13, 14; xix. 19.

of it, than the house of Savoy. In the seventeenth century, A.D. 1655, it executed with ruthless obsequiousness the sanguinary mandates of Rome, exhorting it to exterminate the Vaudois—the Protestant communities of the Alps—with fire and sword. Such was its eagerness in the work of destruction, that Oliver Cromwell wrote a letter of expostulation to the Duke of Savoy, and sent an ambassador from England to deprecate this crusade of desolation; and Milton then wrote his famous sonnet, which has proved almost prophetic (let the reader be requested to refer to it), "On the late Massacre in Piedmont,"

> "Avenge, O Lord, Thy slaughter'd saints, whose bones
> Lie scatter'd on the Alpine mountains cold."

And what is now the case, at the present time?

A Prince of that same house, the house of Savoy, has been raised up to the Throne of Italy, Victor Emmanuel; and he has "*torn the flesh*" of Rome, he has despoiled her of the greater part of her temporal dominions; France, Spain, and Portugal, have recognized him as King of Italy; he has suppressed her Monasteries, and has thus deprived Rome of her most powerful spiritual Army; and it is not improbable, that either his dynasty, or that of some other Potentates formerly devoted to the Papacy, may be employed as an instrument for inflicting more chastisements on Papal Rome.

Further, let us *look forward*, and examine the Apocalyptic Prophecy, which describes what the state of the mystical Babylon *will* be *after* her fall.

Her condition, we are taught in the Apocalypse, will then be like that of the literal, or Assyrian Babylon, after *its* destruction. Concerning the *literal* Babylon, Isaiah prophesied thus: *Wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures; and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there.*[3] And Jeremiah predicted that Babylon *shall become heaps, a dwelling-place for dragons, an astonishment, and a hissing.*[4]

So St. John in the Apocalypse prophesies of the *mystical* Babylon: *Babylon the great* (he says) *is fallen, and is become*

[3] Isa. xiii. 21.

[4] Jer. li. 37.

the habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul spirit, and the cage of every unclean and hateful bird.[5] *For all nations have drunk of the wine of the wrath of her fornication, and the kings of the earth have committed fornication with her; for her sins have reached to heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities.*[6]

Now, take, again, the supposition of Bossuet, and of other Romish Theologians, and let it be imagined, for argument's sake, that Babylon is *only* the *heathen City* of Rome. Rome was taken, at several times, by the Goths and the Vandals; let its capture be, as is alleged by those Romish Divines, the *fulfilment* of St. John's Prophecy, *Babylon is fallen.* Rome having been Pagan, became Papal. What then is the consequence? Rome—Papal Rome—is become *the habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul spirit!* . . . . Will this be allowed by Romish Divines? Rome the habitation of devils, the hold of every foul spirit, *the cage of every unclean and hateful bird!*

No: in *their* language Rome is "the Capital of Christendom," "the Holy City," the "spiritual Sion." They call her Sovereign "the Supreme Pontiff," "Holy Father;" his States are "the States of the Church;" and his throne, "the Holy See."

Therefore these Apocalyptic prophecies were *not fulfilled* in *Pagan* Rome. But it is allowed by Romish Divines that they concern Rome. Therefore they do not concern Rome only as Pagan, but as Papal.

Again; it is prophesied in the Apocalypse that Babylon *will be burnt with fire,* and become utterly desolate. Now, let Babylon be imagined to be only the *heathen* City of Rome. How then, let us ask, can the prediction be reconciled with the fact? How can it be said, that Rome *has* been *burnt with fire,* and that *the smoke of the burning ascends to heaven?*[7] Has the voice of harpers and musicians

[5] Rev. xviii. 2.

[6] Rev. xviii. 3, 5. See "Harmony," p. 88, § 49, in the present writer's separate Edition of the Apocalypse.

[7] Rev. xviii. 8, 9.

ceased within her? has she been taken up, *like a great millstone, and plunged in the sea?*[8] No: the voice of melody is still heard in her princely palaces; they are still adorned with noble pictures and fair statues. The riches of her purple and silk and scarlet, and pearls and jewels,[9] are still displayed in the splendid attire of her Pontiff and his Cardinals in their solemn conclaves. Cavalcades of horses and chariots,[1] with gorgeous trappings, and long trains of religious processions, still move along her streets; clouds of frankincense still float in her Temples, which on high festivals are hung with tapestry and brocade and gay embroidery; her precious vessels still glitter on her Altars; her rich merchandise of gold and silver is still purchased; her dainty and goodly things are not yet departed from her. She still sits as a Queen, and glorifies herself, and says, *I am no Widow, and shall see no sorrow.*[2] She still claims the title of Divinity, and calls herself ETERNAL.

Let any one refer to the confident language she used, and to the gorgeous splendour in which she displayed herself on December 8, 1854, when she promulgated, in St. Peter's Church, the dogma of the *Immaculate Conception;* and on Whitsunday, June 8, 1862, when she canonized the Japanese Martyrs,—a ceremonial associated with her own claims to Supremacy, spiritual and temporal, and the still greater splendour which she exhibited on July 18, 1870, when the Roman Pontiff declared himself in that Church to be *Infallible;* and he will admit these statements to be unquestionable.

Here, therefore, we are brought to the same conclusion. The Babylon of the Apocalypse is allowed on all hands to be Rome. *Pagan* Rome it cannot be. It is therefore *Papal* Rome.

But it may be said: True, the Apocalyptic Prophecies *have failed* of their effect, *if* Babylon be interpreted as representing only the City of Rome as *Heathen*. Still, it may be alleged that it does not necessarily follow that they

[8] Cp. Rev. xviii. 21.
[1] Cp. Rev. xviii. 13.
[9] Cp. Rev. xvii. 4; xviii. 12—16.
[2] Cp. Rev. xviii. 7.

concern Papal Rome, inasmuch as it is *possible* that the City of Rome may *cease to be Papal*, and that it may, at some *future* time, become *infidel*, and *then* be destroyed in the manner described in the Apocalypse.

This is the theory of *some* Romish Expositors,[3] who perceive the insurmountable difficulties embarrassing the hypothesis of Bossuet and others, which has now been examined; and which has been, and still is, maintained by their most eminent Divines.

Here then we may observe—

Romish Divines *agree* with *us*, that Babylon is the City of Rome. But they are *not agreed among themselves*, whether Babylon is the Rome of 1500 years ago, or a Rome still *future*. And yet they say that they have, in the Roman Pontiff, an *Infallible* Guide for the exposition of Holy Scripture. How is it, that this Infallible Guide has not yet settled for them the meaning of the prophecies concerning *his own City?* Here was a worthy occasion for the exercise of his powers. How is it, that the Bishop of Rome has left the Church of Rome in a state of uncertainty and of variance with regard to these awful prophecies which refer to the City of Rome? How is it, that he allows some Romish Divines to say that these prophecies refer to a Rome of more than a thousand years ago, and permits others to say that they relate to a Rome still *future?* Is this Unity? Is this Infallibility?

Let us now examine the hypothesis of these other Roman Divines, who say that the Apocalyptic Babylon is Rome *future;* Rome becoming heathen and infidel.

Rome heathen and infidel! What then becomes of their assertion, that no Heresy has ever infected her, and that every Church must conform to her?[4]

Babylon is described as *drunk with the blood of the saints*, and as making *all to drink of her cup.*[5]

Now, that Rome will become heathen, and that she will propagate heathenism with the sword, this assuredly is an

[3] e.g. Cornelius à Lapide and others.

[4] See the Papal Brief on the Immaculate Conception.

[5] Rev. xvii. 6, 2.

alternative to which no advocate of the Church of Rome could be driven, except by desperation. But, however this may be, this Exposition is irreconcilable with the words of St. John, and cannot therefore be sound. And why? Because, as we have seen, St. John refers to Rome *reigning* over the Kings of the Earth in his own day. He then proceeds to reveal her future History. No intimation is given of *any break* in the thread of his prophecy. But if Babylon is some *future* Rome, as well as the Rome of St. John's age, there must be a chasm in that history of nearly two thousand years.

Let us refer again to the Apocalypse. There it is said that the Beast on which the *Woman sitteth,* is the *eighth* head or king;[6] and that *five* heads had already fallen in St. John's age, that the *sixth* was then in being, that the seventh would continue only for *a short time,* and *then* the *eighth would appear;* and that the eighth head is the *Beast* on which *the Woman* sits.

If Kings are here used to signify *individuals,* then the eighth head, i. e. the Beast and the Woman on it, must have arisen *soon* after St. John's age. But let us allow, that kings are here used for *forms* of *government,* as is common in Scripture Prophecy.[7] Then the eight heads are the eight successive forms of Government in the City of Rome. Five of these had followed one another, and had passed away, in St. John's age. Therefore five heads are said to have *fallen.* The sixth or imperial head was then in being. But the imperial head also fell. It perished with Romulus Augustulus, A.D. 476. It was to be followed by the seventh. And the seventh was to be of *brief duration,* it was only to *continue for a short space.*[8] The eighth was to arise[9] *from* the seven;[1] that is, without interruption, after the

[6] Rev. xvii. 10, 11.

[7] Dan. vii. 17, 23, 24. See the LXX, and Lowth on Hosea iii. 3. Rev. xvii. 10.

[9] Bishop Andrewes c. Bellarmin. cap. xii. p. 289: Plagam accepit *caput* septimum, plagâ curatâ revixit *octavum, Romanus Pontifex,* caput regno (i. e. tiarâ) redimitus.

[1] ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ, Rev. xvii. 11.

seventh; and the eighth is *the Beast on which the Woman sitteth.*[2]

Therefore the Beast with the Woman sitting upon it *has appeared long ago.*

These Prophecies concern that Woman: this Woman is the City Rome: and they therefore concern Rome, not *future* only, but such as she has long been, and now is.

We have now seen that the Apocalyptic Babylon is *not* Rome only as *pagan*. Let us now pass on to the *positive* part of our argument, and let us inquire more particularly, Whether the Babylon of the Apocalypse is or is not Christian Rome, under the dominion of Popes; and whether it is Rome, as Rome is now?

1. Here we may observe first, the City seated on the Beast is called a *harlot.* This is the scriptural name of a *faithless Church.*

Such is Christ's love for His *faithful* people, that He is pleased to speak of His own relation to them under the term of *marriage.* The Church is His *spouse.*[3] *I have espoused you as a chaste virgin to Christ,* says St. Paul to the Corinthians.[4] Hence spiritual *unfaithfulness* to Christ is represented in Scripture as *adultery.*

This idea runs through the whole Book of Revelation. In the *Church* of Pergamos there are said to be some who *hold the doctrines of Balaam, and* cause others to *commit fornication.*[5] At Thyatira there is a Jezebel, who, by her false *teaching, seduces Christ's servants*; and they who *commit adultery with her* are threatened with tribulation.[6] And, on the other hand, *the faithful who follow the Lamb*—i. e. Christ—*whithersoever He goeth,* are said to be virgins, and not to have been *defiled with women;* that is, not sullied with the stain of *spiritual harlotry.*[7]

The name *harlot,* therefore, describes a *Church,* which has fallen from her first love, and gone after other lords,

[2] Rev. xvii. 3, 8, 11.
[3] John iii. 29. Eph. v. 23—32.
[4] 2 Cor. xi. 2.
[5] Rev. ii. 14.
[6] Rev. ii. 20, 22.
[7] Rev. xiv. 4.

and given to *them* the honour due to CHRIST alone; and if the Roman Church gives to *other* beings any of the worship which is due to Christ alone (and surely she ascribes honour to the Blessed Virgin Mary almost as much as to Christ), then this name is applicable to the Church of Rome.

2. But here it is said by some Romish Divines,—*If* a faithless *Church* had been intended by St. John, then

(1) he would *not* have called her a *harlot*, but an *adulteress;* and

(2) he would not have designated her by the name of a *heathen* city, *Babylon*, which *never* owned the true God, but by the name of some city, such as *Samaria*, which *once knew* Him, and afterwards fell away from Him.

These are Bossuet's [8] allegations.

We may reply to them as follows:

(1) We allow that a faithless Church may be called an *adulteress;* but she may also be, and *often is*, called in Scripture a *harlot*, when she mixes false doctrine and worship with the true faith.

Thus Isaiah exclaims concerning Jerusalem, the ancient *Church* of God,[9] "How is the faithful City become *a harlot!*" And Jeremiah, "Thou hast played *the harlot* with many lovers." [1] And Hosea, "Though Israel *play the harlot*, let not Judah offend." [2]

The original word which is uniformly used for *harlot* by St. John in the Apocalypse is *πόρνη, porné*.[3] And this *same* word (*πόρνη*), or its derivatives, is used in the passages just quoted, and is employed in the Septuagint Version of the Prophets of the Old Testament, at least *fifty times*,[4] to describe the spiritual fornication, that is, the *corrupt doctrine* and *practice* of the *Churches* of Israel and Judah; and so

[8] Bossuet, Préface sur l'Apocalypse, vii.—ix.

[9] Isa. i. 21. [1] Jer. iii. 1.

[2] Hosea iv. 15.

[3] The Hebrew זוֹנָה, which is always rendered *harlot* by our translators; as נֹאֶפֶת is *adulteress*.

[4] e. g. Ezek. xvi. 15, 22, 33, 35; xxiii. 7, 8, 11, 14, 17, 18, 19, 29, 35, 43, 45; xliii. 7, 9. Jer. ii. 20; iii. 1, 2, 6, 9; xiii. 27. Hosea ii. 2, 4, 5, 10; iv. 12, 15, 18; v. 4; vi. 10; ix. 1. Isa. i. 21. Micah i. 7. Nahum iii. 4. So *ἐκπορνεύω* very frequently.

Samaria herself, or the Church of Israel, which Bossuet specifies as the proper parallel, is charged with *harlotry*.

Therefore the word *harlot* does designate a *Church;* and if the Church of Rome is described by *that* name in the Apocalypse, then the word *harlot*, as applied to her, indicates *the multitude* of her *sins*.

Besides, the Harlot's *name* in the Apocalypse is *Mystery*.[5] This word, Mystery, is used more than *twenty times* in the New Testament, and is *never* applied to any object *openly infidel*, but is always applied to something *sacred* and *religious*,—such as a *Church*.

(2) To consider Bossuet's second objection:—We readily allow that a faithless Church *might* be called a *Samaria;* but we affirm that it may also with *greater propriety*, under certain circumstances, be termed *Babylon*. Thus Isaiah addresses *Jerusalem*, the ancient Church of God, by two *heathen* names, *Sodom*, and *Gomorrah*. "Hear the word of the Lord, *ye rulers of Sodom;* give ear unto the law of our God, *ye people of Gomorrah*." [6] And again, he says, "they declare their sin as *Sodom*." [7] So Ezekiel calls *Jerusalem* a sister of *Sodom;* and *Sodom* more righteous than her.[8] It is clear that the words *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, two *heathen names* applied to *Churches*, denote here great *flagrancy* of guilt in those *Churches*. In the Apocalypse, also, itself, a false teacher in *a Church* is called not only a *Balaam*, but a *Jezebel*,[9] that is, is compared to a *heathen* patron of *idolatry*.

Therefore, *Babylon* may represent a faithless *Church;* one which, having been a *Bethel*, or *House of God*, becomes a *Bethaven*, or *House of vanity* (*idols*).[1] And if the Apocalyptic Babylon be a Church, and if the Church of Rome be that Church, then the *heathen* name *Babylon*, ascribed to *her*, is designed by the Holy Spirit to show the enormity of her guilt.

3. The Harlot is named *Babylon*. And Babylon is called

[5] Rev. xvii. 5, 7.
[6] Isa. i. 10.
[7] Isa. iii. 9.
[8] Ezek. xvi. 48. Compare 2 Pet. ii. 6. Jude 7.
[9] Rev. ii. 14, 20.
[1] Hosea x. 5, 15.

the Great City. She is so named *twelve* times[2] in the Apocalypse, and *no other* city is called in this book *the Great City.* Now, *the Great City,* which is the city of the Beast, who persecutes the Witnesses, and in whose street their *body lies,*[3] which City is called, *spiritually, Sodom and Egypt,* is also called the City *in which their Lord was crucified.*[4] That is, it is also spiritually called a *Jerusalem,* i. e. it is called a *Church* of God.

Therefore, again we see, the Harlot is a *Church.*[5]

4. This is also clear from the following considerations.

The Apocalypse abounds in *contrasts.* For example the Lamb, who in St. John's *Gospel* is always called Ἀμνὸς, and never Ἀρνίον, is called Ἀρνίον, and never Ἀμνὸς, in St. John's *Apocalypse,* in which Ἀρνίον occurs twenty-nine times. And why does ὁ Ἀμνὸς here become τὸ Ἀρνίον? To *contrast* Him more strongly with τὸ Θηρίον; that is, to mark the *opposition* between the Lamb and the Beast.[6]

[2] Rev. xi. 8; xiv. 8; xvi. 19, bis; xvii. 5, 18; xviii. 2, 16, 18, 19, 21. The passage, Rev. xxi. 10, has been corrected from the best MSS. by recent editors.

[3] Rev. xi. 8.

[4] Rev. xi. 8.

[5] Vitringa's remarks (p. 477) are very pertinent on this point: *Roma* dicitur *Babylon* causâ *idololatriæ,* dicitur *Ægyptus* (xi. 8) ob *tyrannidem* in populum Dei, dicitur *Sodoma* (xi. 8) causâ *corruptionis morum:* sed et *spiritualiter* dicitur *Hierosolyma* (xi. 8) quippe in quâ Dominus mysticè dici queat crucifixus esse (id est, *in membris suis*). Ex quo facile colligimus, Romam hic intelligi non Paganam sed Pseudo-Christianam, quia neutiquam probabile est Spiritum Sanctum Romam Paganam comparaturum esse cum *Hierosolymis.*

[6] This contrast is even more striking in the original: where it is aided by an exact correspondence of syllables and accents. On one side are,

Ἡ ΠΟΡΝΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΘΗΡΙΟΝ,
The Harlot and the Beast.

on the other side are,

Ἡ ΝΥΜΦΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΑΡΝΙΟΝ,
The Bride and the Lamb.

See Rev. xxi. 2, 9; xxii. 17.

If any one can have any doubt of St. John's intention to identify the Woman on the Beast with a faithless Church, let him read the following description:—Καὶ ἦλθεν εἷς ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἀγγέλων τῶν ἐχόντων τὰς ἑπτὰ φιάλας, καὶ ἐλάλησε μετ ἐμοῦ, λέγων, Δεῦρο, δείξω σοι τὸ

And as the Lamb is contrasted with the Beast, so is the Spouse of the Lamb, or the Bride, contrasted with the Harlot who sits on the Beast.

Thus, on one side we see the faithful Woman,[7] clothed with the Sun, Which is Christ, and treading on the Moon, that is, surviving all the changes and chances of this world; and having her brows encircled with *Twelve stars*—the diadem of Apostolic faith. She is a *Mother;* and her child is caught up to heaven. On the other side, we see a faithless Woman, arrayed in worldly splendour, and having on *her forehead*[8] the name *Mystery;* and called "*Mother* of abominations of the Earth."

Again; On the one side, we see the faithful Woman driven into the wilderness and persecuted by the Dragon.

On the other side, we see the faithless Woman, enthroned *on seven hills,* sitting on many waters which are *peoples and nations;* persecuting, and sitting on the Beast, who receives his power from the Dragon.

The former Woman is the faithful *Church,* which is *truly Catholic* or Universal.

The latter Woman, who is contrasted with her, and is called the *Harlot,* is a *faithless Church,* which *claims* to be Catholic, but is not.

Let us pursue the contrast.

The faithful Woman appears again, after her pilgrimage in the wilderness of this world is over. Her sufferings have ceased. Look upward. Her glory is revealed at the close

κρῖμα τῆς πόρνης τῆς μεγάλης . . . . Καὶ *ἀπήνεγκέ με εἰς ἔρημον ἐν πνεύματι· καὶ εἶδον γυναῖκα καθημένην ἐπὶ θηρίον κόκκινον* (Rev. xvii. 1, 3).

And then let him compare it with the words which describe the faithful Church in glory:—Καὶ *ἦλθεν εἷς ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἀγγέλων τῶν ἐχόντων τὰς ἑπτὰ φιάλας . . . καὶ ἐλάλησε μετ' ἐμοῦ, λέγων, Δεῦρο, δείξω σοι τὴν νύμφην τοῦ ἀρνίου τὴν γυναῖκα.* Καὶ *ἀπήνεγκέ με ἐν πνεύματι ἐπ' ὄρος μέγα καὶ ὑψηλὸν, καὶ ἔδειξέ μοι τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἁγίαν Ἱερουσαλήμ* (Rev. xxi. 9, 10).

[7] Rev. xii. 1.

[8] Rev. xvii. 5. The words, MYSTERY, BABYLON THE GREAT, inscribed on the Harlot's forehead, appear to be a *contrast* to the words, HOLINESS to the LORD, written on the forefront of the Mitre of the High Priest (Exod. xxviii, 36—38).

of the Apocalypse. The Woman which was in the wilderness has now become the Bride in Heaven. She is Christ's Church glorified, His Spouse purified. She is arrayed in *fine linen, pure and white.* She is called the *Holy City,* the *new Jerusalem.*[9]

Now look below at the faithless Woman, or Harlot, sitting on the Beast. She is arrayed in *scarlet,* and *pearls,* and *jewels,* and *gold.* She is called *Babylon, the Great City,*[1] the Jerusalem in which *Christ is crucified.*[2]

Behold once more. What is the end?

Look upward: Heaven opens its golden portals to receive the Bride.

Look downward: Earth opens its dark abyss to engulf the Harlot.

How striking is the contrast!

And what is the conclusion from all this?

As the former Woman, the Bride, the Holy City, the new Jerusalem, represents the *faithful Church,* so the second Woman, the Harlot, the great City, the City *on Seven Hills,* which *reigned* in St. John's age, the mystical Babylon, the reprobate Jerusalem, represents *a faithless Church.*

The question now is,—*What* Church?

At this point, the evidence, stated in the former Chapter, comes in with irresistible force. It was then proved that the City on seven hills—the City which reigned in St. John's age—the City called *Babylon* in the Apocalypse,—is the City of *Rome:* and this (as we have also seen[3]) is generally allowed by Romish Divines.

The answer, therefore, is: The second Woman, the Harlot, represents the faithless *Church* in the City of *Rome.*

5. Is this result confirmed by facts? Let us inquire.

The Woman enthroned on the Beast is represented in the Apocalypse as holding a *golden cup* in her hand, with which she intoxicates men, and of which she *requires all to drink.*[4]

[9] Rev. xix. 7, 8; xxi. 2, 9, 10.
[2] Rev. xi. 8.
[1] Rev. xvii. 4, 5; xi. 8.
[3] Above, p. 373.
[4] Rev. xiv. 8; xvii. 4; xviii. 6.

Does this apply to the Church of Rome? Certainly it does: this appears as follows;

(1) Almighty God has distinguished man from the rest of the creation by the endowments of Reason and of Conscience; and He commands them to *use* them, and not to *give them away*. But the Church of Rome requires men to sacrifice them to her will. And then she pours into their minds a delirious draught of strange doctrines, which cannot be found in Holy Scripture, and which were unknown to the Apostles, and to the Apostolic Churches of Christ. She requires *all to drink of this cup*.[4] She says of her Trent Creed, "This is the *Catholic Faith, out of which there is no salvation.*"[5]

(2) Again: the faithless Woman in the Apocalypse is represented as *drunken with the blood of Saints. And when I saw her,* says St. John, *I wondered with great admiration.*[6]

Now, *if* the Woman had been *heathen* Rome, *past* or *to come,* why should St. John *wonder?* It is not wonderful, that a *heathen* city should persecute the Saints of God. St. John had seen the blood of Christians spilt by imperial Rome. She had beheaded St. Paul, and had crucified St. Peter. He himself had been a martyr *in will,*[7] and was now an exile,[8] by her cruelty. Therefore he could not have *wondered with great admiration, if* the Harlot was *heathen* Rome. *But* it *was* a fit subject for surprise, that a *Christian Church*—a Church calling herself the "Mother of Christendom," "the spiritual Sion," "the Catholic Church"—should be *drunken with the blood of the saints;* and at such a spectacle as that St. John might well have *wondered with great admiration.*

Has, then, the Church of Rome stained herself with the blood of Christians?

[5] See the conclusion of the Trent Creed, commonly called the Creed of Pope Pius IV.

[6] Rev. xvii. 6.

[7] Tertullian de Præscr. xxxvi. Hieron. adv. Jovin. c. xiv.

[8] Rev. i. 9. Tertullian l. c. Origen ad Matth. p. 417. Euseb. Chron. Domit. xiv. H. E. iii. 18. Hieron. Scr. Eccl. in Joanne.

Yes; she has erected the prisons, and prepared the rack, and lighted the fires, of what she calls "the *Holy Office* of the Inquisition" in Italy, Spain, America, and India. She commanded the ancestors of Victor Emmanuel to persecute to the death the Christians of Piedmont. One of her Popes, whom she has canonized as a Saint, Pius the Fifth, is praised in her liturgical offices,[9] for being an inflexible *Inquisitor*. She has engraven on her coins[1] a picture of the sanguinary massacre of S. Bartholomew's Day, and represents it there as a work done by an Angel from heaven; and her Pontiff[2] went in a public procession to church to return thanks to God for that savage and treacherous deed. She has inserted an Oath in her Pontifical, by which she requires all her Bishops to "*persecute*[3] *and to wage war against*" all whom she calls heretics.

What would St. John have said to this? Would he not have justly *wondered with great admiration*, that such acts should be done under the auspices of one who calls himself the Vicar of Christ?

(3) Again: the Woman is represented as enticing the *Kings of the Earth to commit fornication with her;*[4] and they are said to *give their power and strength to the Beast,*[5] on which she sits.

This assuredly does not apply to *heathen* Rome. She received the gods of other Nations into her Pantheon. Even the reptile deities of Egypt found a place there. She would have opened her doors to Christianity, if Christianity had been content to be enshrined with Heathenism.

[9] Breviar. Roman. v. Maii, ed. Ratisbon, 1840; and p. 662, ed. Paris, 1842: "*Inquisitoris* officium inviolabili fortitudine sustinuit."

[1] It may be seen on the coins of Pope Gregory XIII. Numismata Pontif. p. 87, ed. Paris, 1679. Strange to say, Rome struck this coin again in 1839, and in 1840, thus showing her desire to identify herself with this massacre. See Irish Eccl. Journal, No. 13.

[2] Pope Gregory XIII. See Lord Clarendon's Religion and Polity, p. 427. A copy of the religious Service used on that occasion at Rome is now at Oxford, in the Bodleian Library.

[3] Pontificale Romanum, p. 63, ed. Rom. 1818.

[4] Rev. xvii. 2; xviii. 3.

[5] Rev. xvii. 13.

But these words of the Apocalypse *are* strikingly characteristic of *Papal* Rome. She has trafficked and tampered with all the Kings and Nations of the Earth.

In the words of Richard Hooker,[6] "she hath fawned upon Kings and Princes, and by spiritual cozenage hath made them sell their lawful authority for empty titles." She has caressed and cajoled them with amatory gifts of flowers, pictures, and trinkets, beads and relics, crucifixes and *Agnus Deis*, and consecrated plumes and banners. She has drenched and drugged their senses with love-potions of bewitching smiles and fascinating words; and has thus beguiled them of their faith, their courage, and their power. Like another Delilah, she has made the Samsons of this world to sleep softly in her lap,[7] and then she has shorn them of their strength. She has captivated, and still captivates, the affections of their Prelates and Clergy, by entangling them in the strong and subtle meshes of Oaths of vassalage to herself, and has thus stolen the hearts of subjects from their Sovereigns, and has made Kingdoms to hang upon her lips for the loyalty of their People; and so in her dream of universal Empire she has made the World a fief of Rome.

So strong is the spell with which she enchains Nations, that even we in England who are excommunicated by her, and whose Virgin-Queen was anathematized by her as an Usurper,[8] and whose land is now parcelled out into Papal[9] Dioceses, as if it were a Roman Province, and the names of whose Cities—our Westminsters, Liverpools, and Nottinghams—are given away by her as titles as if they were Italian villages, have connived at these usurpations without requiring a retractation of the unrighteous oaths which she imposes on English subjects, or a revocation of the imprecatory anathemas which she has denounced, and still denounces

[6] Hooker, Serm. v. 15.

[7] Judges xvi. 19.

[8] See the Bull *Regnans in excelsis* of Pius V. against Queen Elizabeth. Bullar. Rom. vii. p. 99.

[9] See the Papal Brief, published Sept. 29, 1850, for the division of England and Wales (and now Scotland 1878), into Romish Dioceses; and see the Sequel of my Letters to M. Gondon, Letter xii. p. 260.

on English Sovereigns,[1] and as if it were possible for us to sever what she declares indissolubly united—her temporal and spiritual sway.

(4) Again: the Woman is described as sitting on *a scarlet-coloured Beast, full of names of Blasphemy.*[2]

Has not Rome fulfilled this prophecy? The *colour*[3] here mentioned is *reserved* by her to her Pontiff and Cardinals. And how does she designate herself? As Infallible, Indefectible, Eternal. And are not these *names* of *blasphemy?* Some persons appear to imagine that *names* of *blasphemy must* indicate an *infidel* power. But this notion is erroneous. "*Blasphemy,*" in the New Testament, denotes an *assumption of what is divine.*[4] And the names which Rome claims for herself, are usurpations of God's incommunicable Name.[5] "When that which is temporal claims Eternity, this," says S. Jerome,[6] "*is a name of blasphemy.*" And when Rome withholds the HOLY SCRIPTURE from her people (and she has never printed at Rome a single copy of the Old Testament in its original language)—and when she bestows honour on those who revile Scripture, calling it "imperfect, ambiguous, a mute Judge, a leaden Rule," and by other opprobrious names,[7] is she not guilty of blasphemy against the Divine Author of Scripture? And when, with the Cup of her

[1] See my Letters to M. Gondon, p. 294—305, 3rd ed.

[2] Rev. xvii. 3.

[3] Ceremoniale Rom. iii. sect. 5, c. 5: "*Ruber* color præcipuè ad Papam pertinet." Pope Paul II. made it penal for any one to wear hats of scarlet (bireta coccinea) but Cardinals: and he gave them scarlet trappings for their mules and horses. See Platina, p. 312. Vitringa, p. 758. Heidegger, i. p. 432. Platina, in Greg. IV.: "Coccinatos nunc aspiceres non homines tantùm (Ecclesiastici ordinis), quod leve fortasse videretur, sed equos et jumenta."

[4] Grotius ad Matth. ix. 3: "Dicitur hic βλασφημεῖν, *non* qui Deo maledicit, *sed* qui quod DEI est *sibi* arrogat . . ."

[5] See on this point Dean Jackson's Works, i. pp. 352—589. On "the assertions of the Romish Church whence her threefold *blasphemy* springs."

[6] S. Jerome ad Algas. xi.

[7] See some of them cited by Bishop Andrewes adv. Bellarmin. cap. xi. pp. 259, 260, and Casaubon, in Exerc. Baron. i. xxxiii. See also Letter iv. of the Sequel of my Letters to M. Gondon.

sorceries in her hand, she takes away the Cup of Blessing in the Lord's Supper which Christ has commanded to be received *by all*;[8] and when she makes men drink of the one, and will not allow them to drink of the other, are not these her acts like acts of blasphemy against God?

(5) Again: the Harlot in the Apocalypse exercises temporal and spiritual sway. She is enthroned upon *many waters*, which *are Nations and Peoples*.[9] She has kings at her feet. She makes them drink of her Cup. She trades in the *souls of men*.[1] The Beast on which she sits as a Queen, and of which she is the Governing Power, uses the agency of the second Beast, or false Prophet or Teacher, and this false Teacher causeth all, both small and great, to *receive his mark, and that no one may buy or sell, save he who has the mark, the name of the Beast, or the number of his name*.[2]

It is very observable, that this false Prophet or Teacher is said in the Apocalypse to have *two horns like the horns of a Lamb*.[3] Now the word *Lamb* is used *twenty-nine* times in the Apocalypse, and in *every one* of these places it relates to *Christ*, the *Lamb* of God. Hence it is clear, that the False Prophet or Teacher, who is the ally of the Beast on whom the Harlot sits, is *not* a *heathen* or *infidel* power, but makes a profession of *Christianity*. He comes like a Lamb with the specious words of Christian innocence and Love. He is therefore the Minister of some form of Christianity, or Church. Therefore, again, the Harlot is *a Church*. And the Church of which he is a Minister (as is evident from the passages of the Apocalypse just cited), puts forth a claim to universal temporal and spiritual sway; and this union of civil and religious Supremacy is a very striking characteristic.

Does not this characteristic apply to the Church of *Rome*,—and to the Church of Rome *alone*? Assuredly it does.

The Church of Rome sits as a Queen upon *many waters*,

[8] John vi. 53. Matt. xxvi. 26, 27. Mark xiv. 23.
[9] Rev. xvii. 15.
[2] Rev. xiii. 16, 17.
[1] Rev. xviii. 13.
Rev. xiii. 11.

which are *peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues.*[4] *She* claims *two swords. Lord, behold, here are two swords;*[5] one of her Pontiff's [6] has interpreted these words of St. Peter as authorizing her *double* sway, temporal and spiritual. She holds in her hands *two keys*—the emblems, as she asserts, of her universal power.[7] The Roman Pontiff is *twice* crowned, once with the Mitre, his symbol of universal *Bishopric*, and once with the Tiara, in token of Universal *Imperial* Supremacy. He wears both diadems. There is indeed a *Mystery* on the forehead of the Church of Rome, in the union of these *two supremacies;* and it has often proved a *Mystery of Iniquity*. It has made the holiest Mysteries subservient to the worst Passions. It has excited Rebellion on the plea of Religion. It has interdicted the last spiritual consolations to the dying, and Christian interment to the dead, for the sake of revenge, or from the lust of power. It has forbidden to marry—and yet it has licensed the unholiest Marriages.[8] It has professed friendship for Kings, and has invoked blessings on Regicides and Usurpers. It claims to be the only dispenser of the Word and Sacraments, and it has transformed the anniversary of the Institution of the Lord's

[4] Rev. xvii. 15. — Pope Pius IX., in an address to the People of Rome, thus spoke: "C'est un grand don du Ciel, parmi tous les dons qu'il a prodigués à l'Italie, que nos trois millions de sujets aient *deux cents millions* de frères *de toute langue et de toute nation.* C'est là ce qui dans d'autres temps, et au milieu de la confusion de tout le monde romain, a fait le salut de Rome.

"Bénissez donc l'Italie, ô grand Dieu! Bénissez-la de la bénédiction que vous demandent pour elle les saints à qui elle a donné le jour, la Reine des saints qui la protége, les apôtres dont elle garde les glorieuses reliques, et votre Fils, fait homme, qui a voulu que cette Rome fût la résidence de son représentant sur la terre.

"Donné à Rome, près Sainte-Marie-Majeure, le 10 février, 1848.

"Pius PP. IX."

[5] Luke xxii. 38.

[6] Boniface VIII. in *Unam Sanctam.* Extrav. Com. Lib. i. Tit. viii. Jus Canon. tom. ii. p. 1159, ed. 1839.

[7] See Boniface VIII. ibid.: "Ore divino, Petro data suisque successoribus in ipso, Quem confessus fuit, petra firmata, dicente Domino ipsi Petro, *Quodcunque ligaveris.*" Matt. xvi. 18, 19.

[8] Heidegger, i. p. 497. See the enormities specified by Sandys, Europæ Speculum, pp. 37, 49. "On Princes' Marriages," and "On Adulterous and Incestuous Marriages," licensed for money by Rome.

Supper into a season of malediction.[9] It has changed the hill of the Vatican into a spiritual Ebal,[1] from which it has fulmined curses according to its will.

Hence we come to the same conclusion: viz. that the harlot City is the Church of Rome.

6. Other characteristics may now be noticed.

The Woman in the Apocalypse is said to be seated on a *scarlet beast;*[2] to be also clad in *scarlet and adorned with gold and precious stones and pearls;*[3] and her *merchandise* is said to be in *gold and silver, and precious stones, and pearls, and fine linen, and purple, and silk,*[4] *and scarlet;*[5] and after her destruction they who weep over her cry, *Alas! alas! the Great City, which was clothed in fine linen, and purple, and scarlet, and decked with gold, and precious stones, and pearls.*[6]

This description of the Woman's vesture is so definite, and is repeated with such emphasis, that it is manifestly intended for the purpose of identification.

Such, let us note, is her *attire.*

Next we find in the Apocalypse that divine honour is given to the Beast on which she sits: *They worshipped the Beast, saying,*[7] *Who is like unto the Beast?*

The word here interpreted to *worship* is one (προσκυνεῖν) which literally signifies to *adore* by *prostration* and by *kissing;* as described in the divine words, *Yet I have left Me seven thousand in Israel, all the knees which have not bowed to Baal, and every mouth which hath not*[8] *kissed him.*

This word (προσκυνεῖν) occurs twenty-four times in the Apocalypse. In ten of these instances, it designates *adoration* paid to Almighty God: in nine others, it describes the *adoration claimed* for the *Beast* and his image; and thus it shows, that *he* exacts what is due to God, and (as the Angel

[9] By the Papal Bull, called "*In Cœnâ Domini.*"

[1] Deut. xxvii. 13.

[2] θηρίον κόκκινον, Rev. xvii. 3.—Coccineus color est *ruber* acutus (says Pliny, N. H. xxi. c. 8), qualis *rubedo* micat in rosis. Victorin. ad Apoc. xii. 3: coloris *rubei*, id est *coccinei*.

[3] Rev. xvii. 4.

[4] σηρικόν.

[5] Rev. xviii. 12.

[6] Rev. xviii. 16.

[7] Rev. xiii. 4.

[8] 1 Kings xix. 18: οὐ προσεκύνησεν.

warns St. John) not due to Angels, but to *God alone;*[9] and this is *Blasphemy.*

Observe, next, the votaries of the Beast say, *Who is like unto the Beast?* This is a challenge to God Himself. *Lord,* says the Psalmist,[1] *Who is like unto Thee?* and again,[2] *O God, Who is like unto Thee?* and, *Among the gods, there is none like unto Thee, O Lord; there is not one that can do as Thou doest.*[3] It is also a parody of the name of the Angel Prince, the conqueror of Satan and his angels, *Michael,* whose name means *Who is as God?* Let us remember, too, that this expression, *Who is like unto the Beast?* the watchword of the worshippers of the Beast, affords a striking contrast to the words emblazoned on the standard of the Maccabees, those courageous soldiers against Antiochus Epiphanes, — *Who among the gods is like unto Thee, Jehovah?* from which badge (according to some) the Maccabees derived their name.[4]

Recollect, now, that Babylon is a type of Rome; and it is said to the King of Babylon, *How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning! how art thou cut down to the ground, which didst weaken the nations! For thou hast said in thine heart, I will ascend into heaven; I will exalt my Throne above the stars of God: I will sit also upon the Mount of the congregation; I will be like the Most High. Yet thou shalt be brought down to hell.*[5]

Here, *the Mount of the congregation,* wherein the King of Babylon *sits,* is *the* Temple *of* God.[6]

Let it be remembered also that the Woman sitting on the Beast is called *the Mother of abominations.*[7] The word *abomination*[8] (*βδέλυγμα*) specially designates an object of *idola-*

[9] Rev. xix. 10; xxii. 9.

[1] Ps. xxxv. 10.

[2] Ps. lxxi. 17; cxiii. 5.

[3] Ps. lxxxvi. 8.

[4] This name (Maccabee) is supposed by some to be derived from the Hebrew words, "Mi Camoka Baelim, Jehovah?" Exod. xv. 11. See Grot. Præf. in 1 Macc. Buxtorf. de Abrev. Prideaux, Connexion, Part ii. bk. iii. ad ann. 166, p. 249.

[5] Isa. xiv. 12—15.

[6] The original signifies the Mount of God's presence; the Sanctuary of His Temple where He meets His people. See Bp. Lowth ad loc.

[7] Rev. xvii. 4, 5.

[8] שִׁקּוּץ *res abominanda.* Dan. xi. 31; xii. 11. See Vitring. Anacr. pp. 607, 759. Hengstenberg, Christol. 703, 708.

trous adoration; and the prophecy of Daniel, predicting the pollution of God's Temple by the setting up in it of *the abomination of desolation*,[9] was fulfilled in the first instance (B.C. 168) by Antiochus Epiphanes, who placed an *idol upon the altar* of God in the Temple at Jerusalem: or, as the Book of Maccabees expresses it, *set up the abomination of desolation on the* ALTAR:[1] thus defiling God's House, and making it desolate; that is, banishing from it God's true worship, and His faithful worshippers.[2]

This prophecy was to have a second fulfilment in Christian times. For our Blessed Lord speaks of it as referring to an event still future, as follows:—

When ye shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the Prophet, stand in the HOLY PLACE; *whoso readeth, let him understand.*[3]

This prediction of our Lord had, no doubt, a partial fulfilment when Jerusalem was occupied, and its Temple profaned, by factious assassins professing zeal for God. But it will have another fulfilment in the Christian Sion, or Church. This opinion is confirmed by the prophecy of St. Paul, concerning the *Mystery of Iniquity*.[4] *Then,* says the Apostle, *shall the Man of sin,* or that Lawless One (*ὁ ἄνομος*), *be revealed, the Son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped, so that he, as God, sitteth in the* TEMPLE *of* GOD, *showing himself that he is God.*[5]

The words here rendered, *so that he sitteth in the Temple of God* (*καθίσαι εἰς ναὸν*), are remarkable. Ναὸς, the word rendered *Temple,* is the *holier part* of the Temple,—the *Sanc-*

[9] *βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως.* Dan. xi. 31: cp. Matt. xxiv. 15.

[1] 1 Macc. i. 54: *ᾠκοδόμησεν βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον.*

[2] See Prideaux's Connexion, Part ii. books ii. and iii., especially from B.C. 175, when Antiochus Epiphanes succeeded his brother, to B.C. 164, in which year Antiochus died.

[3] Matt. xxiv. 15.

[4] For a further examination of St. Paul's prophecy concerning the Man of Sin, the Author begs leave to refer to the note on 2 Thess. ii. 3, 4, in his edition of the Greek Testament.

[5] 2 Thess. ii. 3, 4.

tuary, where the ALTAR *is;* and *καθίσαι εἰς ναὸν* are words involving *motion,* and signify to be conveyed or to convey himself and take a seat in the *Holy Place* of the Temple of God, or the Christian Church.[6]

Let us now review the evidence before us.

The abomination of desolation, as we have seen, was the placing of a profane thing on *the Altar in God's Temple;* and our Lord speaks of the *abomination of desolation,* as still to be expected, and to be manifested *in the Holy Place;*[7] and St. Paul predicted the appearance of a Power, which he calls *Mystery,* claiming *adoration* in the Christian Temple,—taking his seat in the Sanctuary of the Church of God,[8] showing himself that he is God. Let us also remember that Daniel's word *abomination,*[9] which describes an object of idolatrous worship, is adopted by the Apocalypse; and that, in like manner, St. Paul's word *Mystery* is adopted in the Apocalypse; and that *both* these words are combined in this book, in the *name* of the Woman, whose *attire* is described minutely by St. John, and whose name on her forehead is "*Mystery,*[1] Babylon the great, Mother of *abominations* of the Earth."

Is this description applicable to the Church of Rome?

For an answer to this question, let us refer—not to any private sources—but to the official "Book of Sacred Ceremonies" of the Church of Rome.

This Book, sometimes called "Ceremoniale Romanum," is written in Latin, and was compiled three hundred and forty

[6] There are about twenty-five passages in the Acts of the Apostles, where the Jewish Temple is called *ἱερὸν,* but not a single one where it is called *ναὸς,* nor is there one, in any of the Apostolic Epistles, where it bears this name. The *ναὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ,* in the mouth of an Apostle speaking to *Gentile* Christians concerning the *future,* cannot mean the *Jewish* Temple, and can only mean the *Christian Church.* Compare Macknight's note on this passage (2 Thess. ii. 2, 3): "The sitting of the Man of Sin in the *Temple of God,* signifies his being a *Christian by profession,* and that he would exercise his usurped authority in the *Christian Church.*"

[7] Matt. xxiv. 15. Mark xiii. 14.

[8] *ναὸν Θεοῦ* (says Theodoret ad loc.) *τὰς ἐκκλησίας ὠνόμασεν, ἐν αἷς προεδρίαν ἁρπάσει.—In templo,* id est in *Ecclesiâ* Dei, says Bp. Andrewes adv. Bellarmin. cap. ix. pp. 225, 226.

[9] *βδέλυγμα.* Rev. xvii. 4, 5.

[1] Rev. xvii. 5, 7.

years ago, by Marcellus, a Roman Catholic Archbishop, and is dedicated to a Pope, Leo X.[2] Let us turn to that portion of this Volume which describes the first public appearance of the Pope at Rome, on his Election to the Pontificate.

We there read the following order of proceeding: "The Pontiff elect is conducted to the Sacrarium, and divested of his ordinary attire, and is clad in the *Papal robes*." The *colour* of these is then minutely described. Suffice it to say, that *five* different articles of dress, in which he is then arrayed, are *scarlet*. Another vest is specified, and this is covered with *pearls*. His mitre is then mentioned; and this is adorned with *gold* and *precious stones*.

Such, then, is the attire in which the Pope is arrayed, and in which he *first* appears to the World *as Pope*. Refer now to the Apocalypse. We have seen that *scarlet, pearls, gold, and precious stones* are thrice specified by St. John, as characterizing the Mysterious Power portrayed by himself.[3]

But we may not pause here. Turn again to the "Ceremoniale Romanum." The Pontiff elect, arrayed as has been described, is conducted to the Cathedral of Rome, the Basilica, or CHURCH, of St. Peter. He is led to the ALTAR; he first prostrates himself before it, and prays. Thus he declares the sanctity of the Altar. He kneels at it, and prays before it, as the seat of God.

What a contrast then ensues! We read as follows;

"The Pope rises, and, wearing his mitre, is lifted up by the Cardinals, and is placed by them *upon* the ALTAR—to *sit there*. One of the Bishops kneels, and begins the 'Te Deum.' In the mean time the Cardinals *kiss the feet* and hands and face of the Pope."

Such is the first appearance of the Pope in the face of the Church and the World.

This ceremony has been observed for many centuries; and it was performed at the inauguration of Pius IX.;[4] and it is commonly called by Roman writers *the* "ADORA-

[2] Romæ, A.D. 1516.

[3] Rev. xvii. 4; xviii. 12, 16.

[4] On 21st June, 1846. See my Letters to M. Gondon, Letter xii. p. 315, 3rd edit.

TION." [5] It is represented on a coin, struck in the Papal mint with the legend, "Quem creant, *adorant*," [6]—"Whom they *create* (Pope), they *adore*." . . . . What a wonderful avowal!

The following language (the original is in the note below) was addressed to Pope Innocent X. by Cardinal Colonna, at the ceremony of his adoration: [5]—

"Most Holy and Blessed Father, Head of the Church, *Ruler of the World*, to whom the keys of the Kingdom of heaven are committed, whom the ANGELS IN HEAVEN REVERE, and whom the gates of hell fear, and whom *all the World adores*, we specially venerate, worship, and *adore thee*, and commit ourselves, and all that belongs to us, to thy paternal and *more than divine disposal*."

What more could be said to Almighty God Himself?

But to return. Observe the nature of this 'ADORATION.' It is performed by *kneeling*, and *kissing* the face and hands,

[5] See Histoire du Clergé, &c., dedicated to Pope Clement XI., Amst. 1716, vol. i. p. 17: "Quand l'élection est faite, le Pape est conduit à la Chapelle, où il reçoit l'*adoration* des Cardinaux. Ensuite il est porté assis dans le Siége Pontifical à l'église de S. Pierre et *posé sur l'autel* . . où il reçoit encore publiquement l'*adoration*."

Compare Lettenburgh's Notitia Curiæ Romanæ, 1683, p. 125: "Portatur Pontifex in sede Pontificali ad S. Petrum, poniturque supra Altare majus, ubi salutatur osculo pedis, manûs, et oris a Cardinalibus; peractâ *adoratione*, descendit Pontifex ex Altari." "Romæ (says Heidegger, Myst. Bab. i. 537), phrasis illa, *adorare Papam*, in quotidiano usu est."

Various Books have been written by Romish Divines,—Mazaroni, Stevanus, and Diana,—"De *adoratione* et osculo pedum Pontificis." See Heidegger, Myst. Bab. i. 511, 514, 537. At the coronation of Pope Innocent X., A.D. 1644, which is described with great minuteness by Banck, Roma Triumphans, Franeker, 1656, the following "formula adorationis" was addressed, by Cardinal Colonna, on his knees, in his own name and that of the Clergy of St. Peter's, to the Pope: "Sanctissime et Beatissime Pater, Caput Ecclesiæ, RECTOR ORBIS . . . cui claves regni cœlorum sunt commissæ, quem ANGELI in cœlis REVERENTUR, *portæ inferorum timent*, TOTUSQUE *mundus* ADORAT, nos Te unicè veneramur, colimus et ADORAMUS, et nos omniaque nostra paternæ et PLUS QUAM DIVINÆ dispositioni ac curæ submittimus." . . . (Banck, p. 384, a very interesting volume).

An engraving representing the "*Adoration of the Pope*," may be seen in Picart, Cérémonies, i. p. 296.

[6] Numismata Pontificum, Paris, 1679, p. 5.

and feet. And what is St. John's word, *nine* times used to describe the homage paid to the Mysterious rival of God? It is προσκυνεῖν, *to kneel* before and *kiss*.

Next, observe the *place* in which this adoration is paid to the Pope. The *Temple* of God. The principal Temple at Rome, St. Peter's Church. Observe the attitude of the Pope when he receives it. He *sits*. Observe the *place* on which he sits. The *Altar* of God.

Such is the inauguration of the Pope. He is placed by the Cardinals on God's Altar. There he sits as on a Throne. The Altar is his footstool; and the Cardinals kneel before him, and kiss the feet which tread upon the Altar of the Most High.

Let us now turn to St. John. The Power described by him is *Mystery*, and is called the *mother* of *Abominations*. And the word Abomination in Scripture often means *Idols*; and, in the prophecies of Scripture, it describes a special form of idolatry. *The Abomination of desolation*, as we have seen, prefigures the setting up *an object of idolatrous adoration on the* ALTAR *in the* TEMPLE *of God*.

Such was the Idol set up by Antiochus in the Jewish Temple. And our Lord describes the Abomination of desolation as standing *in the Holy Place*. And the Apostle St. Paul predicts that the fall of the Roman Empire[7] will be succeeded by the rise of a power which he calls MYSTERY *exalting itself above all that is called God, or is worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the Temple of God*—or, is conveyed to the *sanctuary* of God, and there placed to sit—*showing himself that he is God*.

7. The following questions therefore arise here:—

Has not the Church of Rome fulfilled the Apocalypse in the eyes of men, has she not proclaimed, and does she not now proclaim, her own identity with the faithless Woman in the Apocalypse, at every election of every Pontiff, even by the outward garb of *scarlet, gold, precious stones, and pearls*, in which she then invests him, and in which she then displays him to Christendom and the world?

[7] As is shown in my notes on 2 Thess. ii. 6, 7.

Has she not fulfilled the Apocalypse, and does she not proclaim her own identity with that faithless Woman whose name is *Mystery, Mother of Abominations,* by *publicly* commencing *every Pontificate* with making the Pontiff *her own Idol,* by lifting him up on the hands of her Cardinals, and by making him *sit on God's Altar,* and by *kneeling before him,* and *kissing his feet?*

By her long practice of this form of Abomination, which she calls "*Adoration,*" has she not identified herself with the Apocalyptic power, whose *name* is *Mystery,* and also with the "*Mystery of Iniquity,*" described by the Apostle St. Paul as enthroned in the *Temple of God?*

By placing her Pontiff to be *adored,* like the Most High, in God's presence, on God's Altar in God's Church—in her own principal Church at Rome, St. Peter's—as Antiochus Epiphanes placed an idol to be adored on the Altar in the Temple at Jerusalem,—does she not make the Pope of Rome to be like to the King of Babylon, whose pride and fall are portrayed by Isaiah,[8] and to the *Abomination of desolation*[9] spoken of by Daniel the Prophet, and by our Blessed Lord Himself?

8. Let us pause here, and sum up what has been said.

Either the claims of the Church of Rome are just—or they are not.

If they are,—she is infallible, and indefectible. She is the Mother and Mistress of Churches. Her Pontiff is the Universal Pastor; the Centre of Unity; the Father of the Faithful; the Supreme Head, and Spiritual Judge of Christendom; the Infallible Teacher of Divine Truth, and (as he himself asserts) it is necessary for every one to be in communion with him, and to be in subjection to him. Out of his Communion there is no salvation.

Now, we hold in our hand the Apocalypse of St. John,

[8] Isa. xiv. 12—15. Cf. Witsii Miscell. Sacr. p. 653, lib. iii. c. 2.

[9] The following was written in the twelfth century: "Dictum *Danielis,* nono, convenit modernis Prælatis et Ecclesiæ Rectoribus, videlicet *Cum videritis desolationem.*" Joachim Abbas, in Jerem. c. 37.

the Revelation of Jesus Christ,[1] *the voice of the Spirit to the Churches;*[2] the prophetic History of the Church from the Apostolic age to the Day of Doom.

In it St. John places us at *Rome:* he points to its *Seven Hills:*[3] he shows us the City enthroned upon them: he detains us there, while he reveals to us Rome's future history, even to its total extinction, which he describes.[4]

(1) *If* (as Rome affirms) Christ has instituted a spiritual Supremacy, and an Infallible Authority, which all men are obliged to acknowledge, and to which all must bow, and with which all must be in communion on pain of everlasting damnation, it may reasonably be supposed, that the Holy Spirit, in revealing the future History of the Church (as He does in the Apocalypse), and in providing guidance and comfort for Christians, under their trials, which He predicts, would not have failed to give some notice of such spiritual supremacy and infallible authority in the Church.

(2) *If* Christ has settled that spiritual Pre-eminence and Supremacy at *Rome,* it may reasonably be concluded, that the Holy Spirit, when speaking specially and copiously of *Rome,* and tracing *her* history (as He does in the Apocalypse, and as Romish divines allow that He does), even to the day when she will *be burnt with fire,* and her *smoke ascend to heaven,*—would not have omitted to mention that Pre-eminence and Supremacy supposed to exist at Rome.

(3) *If* the Church of Rome *is,*—as she herself affirms,—the true Spouse of Christ, the Mother and Mistress of all Churches in Christendom, and if communion with her is necessary to salvation, assuredly the Holy Spirit would have taken great care that no reasonable man should be able to impute to the *Christian Church* of Rome what He intended for the *Heathen City* of Rome. And, since by the Union of the supreme civil authority with the spiritual in the person of the Bishop, who is also the Sovereign of Rome, and by the consequent incorporation of the City of Rome in the Church of Rome, there was great probability of such a confusion—which the Holy Spirit could foresee—He would have

[1] Rev. i. 1.
[2] Rev. ii. 7, 11, 17, &c.
[3] Rev. xvii. 9.
[4] Rev. xviii. 1—24.

guarded against it, and have taken care, that the character He draws of the Harlot, and the awful description which He gives, in the Apocalypse, of her future doom, could not possibly be applied by any reasonable man to the *Church of Rome*.

Now, what is the fact?

(1) Not a word does the Holy Spirit say, in the Apocalypse, of the existence of *any* Supreme Visible Head or Infallible Authority in the Church.

(2) Not a word does He say of the Church of *Rome* being the Centre of Unity—the Arbitress of Faith—the Mother and Mistress of Churches. Not a word does He speak in her praise. Indeed the advocates of the Church of Rome (who allow that, in the Apocalypse, He speaks largely of the Roman *City*) say that He does not mention the Roman *Church* at all![5]

How unaccountable is all this, *if*, as they affirm, Christ *has* instituted such a Supremacy; and *if* He has placed it at *Rome!*

9. But now let us take the other alternative. Let the claims of the Church of Rome be *unfounded;* then it must be admitted that they are nothing short of blasphemy: for they are claims to Infallibility, Indefectibility, and Universal Dominion, spiritual and temporal, which are Attributes of Almighty God.

And now again let us turn to the Apocalypse. What do we find there?

We see there a certain City portrayed—a great City—*the* great City—the Queen of the Earth when St. John wrote—the City on Seven Hills—the City of *Rome*.

At *Rome*, then, we are placed by St. John. We stand *there* by St. John's side. *This* city is represented by him as a Woman; it is called the Harlot. It is *contrasted* by him with the Woman in the Wilderness, crowned with the Twelve Stars, the future Bride in Heaven, the new Jerusalem; that is, it is contrasted with the *faithful* Apostolic

[5] See Bossuet, above, p. 379.

Church, now sojourning on earth, and to be glorified hereafter in heaven.

The Harlot persecutes with the power of the Dragon; the Bride is persecuted by the Dragon: the Harlot is arrayed in scarlet; the Bride is attired in white: the Harlot sinks to an abyss; the Bride mounts to heaven. The Bride is *the* faithful *Church;* the Harlot contrasted with her, is a faithless *Church.*

The *Great City,* then, which is allowed by Romanists to be Rome, is called a Harlot, and a Harlot is a faithless *Church,* therefore that Great City is the Church of *Rome.*

This Harlot-City is represented as seated upon many waters, which are *Peoples, and Nations, and Tongues.* Kings give their power to her, and commit fornication with her. She vaunts that she is a Queen for ever. She is displayed as claiming a double Supremacy.

Now, look at *Rome. She,* she *alone* of all the Cities that are, or ever have been, in the world, asserts universal Supremacy, spiritual and temporal. She wields two swords. She wears two Diadems. And she has claimed this double power for more than a thousand years. "Ruler of the World"—"Universal Pastor"—"Father of Kings and Princes"—"Infallible Teacher and Guide"—these are the titles of her Pontiff. She boasts that she is the Catholic Church; that she is "*alone, and none beside her*" on the earth: she affirms that her light will never be dim, her Candlestick never removed. And yet she teaches strange doctrines. She has broken her plighted troth, and forgotten the love of her espousals. She has been untrue to God. She has put on the scarlet robe and gaudy jewels and bold look of a harlot, and gone after other gods. She canonizes men,—as she did the other day (June 8, 1862), and then worships them. She would make the Apostles untrue to their Lord, and constrain the Blessed Mother of Christ to be a rival of her Divine Son. She adores Angels, and thereby dishonours the Triune God, before Whose glorious Majesty they veil their faces. She deifies the Creature, and thus defies the Creator.

St. John, when he calls us to see the Harlot-City, the

seven-hilled City, fixes her name on her forehead—*Mystery*—to be seen and read by all. And he says, *Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy.*[6]

Her title is Mystery, a *secret* spell, bearing a semblance of sanctity: a solemn rite which promises bliss to those who are initiated in it: a prodigy inspiring wonder and awe into the mind of St. John: an intricate enigma requiring for its solution the aid of the Spirit of God.

Heathen Rome doing the work of heathenism in persecuting the Church was *no* Mystery. But a *Christian Church*, calling herself the Mother of Christendom, and yet *drunken with the blood of saints*—this *is* a *Mystery*. A *Christian Church* boasting herself to be the Bride, and yet *being* the Harlot; styling herself Sion, and being Babylon—this *is* a *Mystery*. A *Mystery* indeed it is, that, when *she* says to all, "Come unto me," the voice from *heaven* should cry, "*Come out of her, My People.*"[7] A *Mystery* indeed it is, that she who boasts herself the City of Saints, should become *the habitation of devils:* that she who claims to be Infallible should be said to *corrupt the earth:* that a self-named "*Mother of Churches,*" should be called by the Holy Spirit the "*Mother of Abominations:*" that she who boasts to be Indefectible, should in one day be destroyed, and that Apostles should rejoice at her fall:[8] that she who holds, as she says, in her hands the Keys of Heaven, should be cast into the lake of fire by Him Who has the Keys of hell.[9] All this, in truth, *is* a great Mystery.

Nearly Eighteen Centuries have passed away, since the Holy Spirit prophesied, by the mouth of St. John, that *this* Mystery would be revealed in *that City* which was then the Queen of the Earth, the City on Seven Hills,—the City of Rome.

The Mystery was then dark, dark as midnight. Man's eye could not pierce the gloom. The fulfilment of the prophecy seemed improbable,—almost impossible. Age after age rolled away. By degrees, the mists which hung over it

[6] Rev. i. 3; xxii. 7. Rev. xviii. 20.

[7] Rev. xviii. 4.

[9] Rev. i. 18.

became less thick. The clouds began to break. Some features of the dark Mystery began to appear, dimly at first, then more clearly, like Mountains at daybreak. Then the form of the Mystery became more and more distinct. The Seven Hills, and the Woman sitting upon them, became more and more visible. Her voice was heard. Strange sounds of blasphemy were muttered by her. Then they became louder and louder. And the golden chalice in her hand, her scarlet attire, her pearls and jewels were seen glittering in the Sun. Kings and Nations were displayed prostrate at her feet, and drinking her cup. Saints were slain by her sword, and she exulted over them. And now the prophecy became clear, clear as noon-day; and we tremble at the sight, while we read the inscription, emblazoned in large letters, "MYSTERY, BABYLON THE GREAT," written by the hand of St. John, guided by the Holy Spirit of God, on the forehead of the CHURCH of ROME.

CHAPTER III.

REFLECTIONS ON THE PROPHECIES CONCERNING BABYLON IN THE APOCALYPSE.

REASONS have now been given for the conclusion stated above, that the prophecies contained in the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Sixteenth, Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Chapters of the Revelation of St. John the Divine, and which describe the guilt, and portray the punishment, of the mystical BABYLON, have been partly accomplished, and are in course of complete accomplishment, in the CHURCH of ROME.

1. Some may allege that such an assertion is uncharitable; that it is inconsistent with the loving spirit of the Gospel, to arraign a Christian Church, one so distinguished as the Church of Rome for amplitude, dignity, and antiquity; and to brand it with such an ominous name—to characterize it as BABYLON.

But to this we reply,—Who wrote the Apocalypse? St. John. He was a *son of thunder;*[1] but he was the *beloved disciple* of Christ; he leaned on His bosom at the institution of the Divine Feast of Love. To him the Son of God bequeathed His beloved Mother with almost His last breath, when He was dying on the Cross. He was the Apostle of Love. And this divine *son of thunder,* St. John, fulmined forth God's judgments in love; and he says in the spirit of love, "Little children, keep yourselves from idols" (1 John v. 21).

Repent (says Christ, by St. John's mouth in the Apocalypse); *do thy first works; and, I will give thee the Morning Star.*[2] *As many as I love, I rebuke and chasten; be zealous therefore, and repent.*[3] *Behold, I stand at the door.*[4]

Again; let us ask, Who moved St. John to write the Apocalypse? The HOLY SPIRIT of God. *If any man hath an ear, let him hear what* THE SPIRIT *saith unto the Churches.*[5]

Assuredly, it is not uncharitable for us to declare, what the Holy Spirit of Peace dictated to the Apostle of Love.

Nay, rather, they, whose office it is to guide and warn others, are guilty of grievous sin: they are chargeable with *cruelty* to the souls of others, and the blood of those souls is on their heads, and they are doing what in them lies to frustrate St. John's labour of love; they are resisting the Holy Ghost; they are forfeiting the blessings promised in the Apocalypse *to all who read and keep the words of this prophecy,*[6] if they fail to proclaim, what, by the voice of St. John, it has pleased God to reveal.

They are not lovers of peace, or of their own and other men's souls, who *build up a wall, and daub it with untempered mortar;*[7] and *speak smooth things, and prophesy deceits,*[8] and *say, Peace, peace, when there is no peace;*[9] for it is written, *O son of man, if thou dost not speak to warn the wicked from his way, that wicked man shall die in his iniquity; but his blood will I require at thy hand.*[10]

[1] Mark iii. 17.
[2] Rev. ii. 28.
[3] Rev. iii. 19.
[4] Rev. iii. 20.
[5] Rev. ii. 7, 11, 17, 29; iii. 6, 13, 22.
[6] Rev. i. 3; xxii. 7.
[7] Ezek. xiii. 10.
[8] Isa. xxx. 10.
[9] Jer. vi. 14.
[10] Ezek. xxxiii. 8.

2. We have received the Apocalypse from the hand of St. John, who calls it "*the Revelation of* JESUS CHRIST,"[1] and the voice of "*the* SPIRIT *to the Churches.*" In the Apocalypse we have a positive command from ALMIGHTY GOD *not to partake of the sins* of Rome, *lest we also receive of her plagues.*[2]—*If any man worship the Beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or in his hand, the same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out without mixture into the cup of His indignation; and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of the Holy Angels, and in the presence of the Lamb.*[3]

3. Some persons have used this latter text as an argument *against* the identification of Rome with Babylon. They allege that by such an identification, all, who are or have been in communion with Rome, are consigned to damnation; and that, since for many ages a great part of the Visible Church was in communion with Rome, the Church itself had become reprobate, and Christ's promise of His presence and Spirit to it had failed, *if* Rome is Babylon. But this is a great mistake. Such persons do not seem to have observed, that many have never had an opportunity of hearing the warnings of the Apocalypse, and that the text (Rev. xiv. 10) refers to a period *after* the *fall of Babylon*, when God's judgment *will have* been executed on the City and See of Rome,[4] and that it is addressed to those who will not heed the warning given by that awful catastrophe.

We do not hesitate to affirm, that the Church of God has never ceased, and will never cease, *to exist*; and we do not scruple to assert, that the Church of God has never ceased, and will never cease, to *be visible*. We are not like the Donatists, who imagined that the Catholic Church of Christ might be reduced to a small and obscure Communion.

We also readily acknowledge, that, for many centuries, a large portion of the Church Catholic was infected by the errors of Rome. But those *errors* were not the *essence* of the

[1] Rev. i. 1. [2] Rev. xviii. 4.

[3] Rev. xiv. 9, 10.

[4] The attentive reader of the Apocalypse need not be reminded that Romanism will survive the fall of Rome.

Church: and it was possible to communicate with the *Church* of Rome, without communicating in its *errors*. And we doubt not, that many generations of holy men fell asleep in Christ, who deplored those errors, and did not communicate in them, although they were in communion with the Church in which those errors arose.

But as years passed by, Rome *changed* her course. She did not renounce her errors, and she made communion in her *errors* essential to communion with *herself*. She *enforced* her errors as *terms* of *communion*: and she excommunicated all, who would not, and could not, receive and profess those errors as articles of Faith. This she did particularly in the sixteenth century, at the Council of Trent. And thus she became the cause of the worst schism which has ever rent the Church of Christ.

And ever since that time, she has continued to enforce those errors, which she then imposed as truths; and by her recent Acts, claiming to herself power to make the dogmas of the Immaculate Conception and of the Pope's Infallibility to become articles of Faith, she has aggravated her sin in inculcating heresy as if it were Truth, and in tearing the Church by schism, while she professes to be the centre of Unity.

Thus she has verified the prophecy of the Apocalypse, in which God says, "Come out of her, *My people*, that ye be not partakers of her sins."[5] She has still *some people* of *God* in her. But she has so identified her *sins* with *herself*, that they can hardly remain in her now *without* being *partakers of her sins*.[6] She has made communion in her sins necessary for communion with herself. They therefore, who hear the voice, must come out of her. And if they come out, she is guilty of the sin of the separation (for there never can be separation without sin), not only by teaching false

[5] Rev. xviii. 4.

[6] I do not say that the sin of those who *comply* with sinful terms of communion is *equal* to those who *impose* them: or that the condition of those who live in countries where the Scriptural warnings against Roman errors are not heard, is one of equal responsibility to that of those who have the Bible open before them, and yet fall away to Rome.

doctrines, but by enforcing them as terms of communion with herself; and not only by separating herself from the Truth as it is in Christ, but by separating from herself all who desire to cleave steadfastly to Him.

Here, we say, was a new era in the History of the Church. And it is this change in the spiritual polity of the Church of Rome which has placed her in a new attitude with regard to the rest of Christendom; and which calls for more serious attention to the prophecies of the Apocalypse, because it is an evidence of their truth, and because it is also a warning that the time of their full accomplishment is at hand.

Thus, then, we see in the Apocalypse a strong appeal to our Charity. Christian love longs, above all things, for the salvation of souls. It prays and labours that they may escape God's judgments, and especially that they may be saved from the fearful woes which are denounced by God upon Babylon.[7] How, therefore, would it rejoice, that these prophecies of the Apocalypse were now duly pondered by all members of the Church of Rome! How thankful would it be, that the words of the Apostle and Evangelist St. John, who was miraculously rescued from the fiery furnace[8] at Rome, to behold and describe these Visions in the Apocalypse, should have power, by God's grace, *to pluck them as brands from the fire!*[9]

Especially too, as years pass on, and as God's judgments on Rome approach nearer and nearer, and as, in the events of our own day, He makes us feel the tremblings of the earthquake which will engulf her, and to see the flashings forth of the fire which will consume her, true Christian Charity will put on Angels' wings, and will hasten with a Seraph's step; and will be like the heavenly Messengers despatched by God to Lot in Sodom; and will lay hold on the hands of those who linger, and will urge them forth from the door, and will chide their delay, and will exclaim,—"Arise! what dost thou here? Take all that thou hast, *lest thou be consumed in the iniquity of this city.*"[1]

And what, therefore, shall we say of those, our beloved

[7] Rev. xiv. 10, 11; xix. 20.
[8] Tertullian de Præscr. Hæret. c. 36.
[9] Zech. iii. 2.
[1] Gen. xix. 12—16.

friends, our brothers and sisters in Christ, who have been nurtured with the same milk of the Gospel at the breast of the same spiritual mother with ourselves; who have breathed the same prayers, knelt before the same altars, and walked with us side by side in the courts of our own Jerusalem; and have been carried away captive—alas! willingly captive—to Babylon?

What shall we say of them? It may be, that we ourselves might have prevented their fall, if we had exhorted them to hear *what the Spirit saith* by the mouth of St. John. Shall we do nothing for their recovery? Shall we not, even with tears, implore them to listen—not to us, but—to their Everlasting Saviour, their Almighty King and Judge, speaking in the Apocalypse? Shall we not point to the cup of wrath in God's right hand, ready to be poured out upon them? Shall we not say, in the words of the Prophet,—"*Arise ye and depart, for this is not your rest; because it is polluted, it shall destroy you, even with a sore destruction?*"[2]

The Book of Revelation, thus viewed, as it ought to be, is a divine Warning of the peril and unhappiness of all who are enthralled by Rome. And its prophetic and comminatory uses ought to be pointed out by all Christian Ministers, and to be acknowledged by all Christian congregations. And they, whether Clergy or Laity, forfeit a great blessing and incur great danger, who neglect these divinely-appointed uses of the Apocalypse, particularly in the present age, when the Church of Rome is busy, with extraordinary subtlety, in spreading her snares around us, to make us victims of her deceits, prisoners of her power, slaves of her will, and partners of her doom.

4. But in discharging this duty, a Minister of the Gospel must crave not to be misunderstood.

Having a deep sense of the danger of those who dwell in Babylon, he will never venture to affirm that *none who have dwelt there* could be saved. The Apocalypse itself forbids him. On the very eve of its destruction the voice from heaven says, "*Come out of her, My People, that ye be not*

[2] Micah ii. 10.

partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues.[3] And so, we doubt not, God ever has had, and still has, *some people* in Babylon.

Many, doubtless, there were in former times in our own land, who had not the blessed privilege which *we* enjoy of hearing the voice, *Come out of her*. They had not the warnings of the Gospel: to them it was almost a sealed book. And this, too, is still the case with many in foreign lands. And, since responsibilities vary with privileges, and God *judgeth men according to what they have, and not according to what they have not*,[4] therefore Christian Love, *which hopeth all things*,[5] will think charitably, and if it speak at all, will not speak harshly of them.[6]

All this we readily allow. But then we must not shrink from asking, What will be the lot of those who *hear* the voice, *Come out of her*,[7] and yet do not *obey* it? And, still more, what will be the portion of *those*,—the recent converts as they are called, and others who follow them, who,—when the voice from heaven says, *Come out of her*,—*go in* to Babylon, and dwell there?

Again: a Minister of the Gospel is obliged, for fear of misrepresentation, to say, that he readily acknowledges, and openly professes, that *Christianity does not consist in hatred of Rome*.

We are not of those, who, in the words of Lord Clarendon,[8] "consider the Christian Religion no otherwise than as it abhors and reviles Popery, and who value those men most, who do it most furiously." No; the Gospel is a divine Message of *Peace on earth, and good will towards men*.[9] *The*

[3] Rev. xviii. 4.

[4] Luke xii. 48. 2 Cor. viii. 12.

[5] 1 Cor. xiii. 7.

[6] Compare the wise and charitable sentiments of S. Cyprian, Epist. lxiii.: Si quis de *antecessoribus* nostris vel ignoranter vel simpliciter non observavit et tenuit quod *nos* DOMINUS facere exemplo suo et magisterio docuit, potest simplicitati ejus de indulgentiâ Domini venia concedi; *nobis verò non poterit* ignosci, qui *nunc* a Domino admoniti et instructi sumus.

[7] Rev. xviii. 4.

Lord Clarendon, Hist. Rebell. i. 88, p. 38, ed. Oxf. 1839.

[9] Luke ii. 14.

banner over us is Love.[1] No one is safe, because his brother is in danger: no man is better, because his neighbour is worse. Our warfare is not with *men*, but with *sins*. We love the erring, but not their errors; and we oppose their errors, *because* we love the erring, and because we desire their salvation, which is perilled by their errors, and because we love the truth, which is able to save their souls.

We know that Error is manifold, but Truth is one: and that, therefore, it is not enough to oppose Error; for one error may be opposed by another error; and the only *right* opposition to Error is *Truth*. We know, also, that by God's mercy there are truths in the Church of Rome as well as errors; and that some, who oppose Rome, may be opposing her truths, and not her errors. But *our* warfare is against *the errors of Rome*, and for *the maintenance of the truth of Christ*. We reject Popery because we profess Christianity. We flee Babylon, because we love Sion. And the aim of our warfare is not to destroy our adversaries, but to save their souls and ours. Therefore in what has been said on this subject, we have endeavoured to follow the precept of the Apostle, *Speak the truth in love;*[2] and if, through human infirmity, anything has been spoken otherwise, we pray God that it may perish speedily, as though it had never been.

5. It cannot be doubted, that our most eminent Divines have commonly held and taught that the Apocalyptic prophecies concerning Babylon, were designed by the Holy Spirit to describe the Church of Rome. Not only they who flourished at the period of our Reformation, such as Archbishop Cranmer, Bishops Ridley and Jewel, and the Authors of our Homilies, but they also who followed them in the next, the most learned, Age of our Theology,—I mean, the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century,—proclaimed the same doctrine. And it was maintained by those in that learned age, who were most eminent for sober moderation and Christian charity, as well as for

[1] Cant. ii. 4. [2] Eph. iv. 15.

profound learning. It may suffice to mention the names of Richard Hooker[3] and Bishop Andrewes.[4]

But after them a new generation arose. This was a race of men endued with more zeal than knowledge; devoid, for the most part, of reverence for Authority and Antiquity, elated with an overweening confidence in their own sagacity, and idolizing their own imaginations. And having once possessed themselves with a persuasion, that they could not adopt a more effectual mode of assailing what they disliked, than by arraigning it as Popish, they denounced ancient Truths as if they were modern Corruptions, and impugned Apostolic Institutions as if they were Papal Innovations. They involved them all in one sweeping accusation of Anti-christian error and Babylonish pollution. Against them they sounded the Trumpets, and on them they would have poured out the Vials, of the Apocalypse.

Such was the use they made of this sacred Book. Now mark the result.

A reaction took place. The indiscriminate violence and wild extravagance of these eager zealots afforded an easy triumph to their Romish antagonists.

Some of their precipitate charges were easily refuted. It was proved, that many things, which they had affirmed to be Antichristian, were really Apostolic; and that many things which they execrated as Popish, and would exterminate as Babylonish, had been authorized by the unanimous consent, and embodied in the universal practice, of the Christian Church.

Let us observe the consequence.

Some of their accusations being thus ignominiously routed,

[3] Hooker, e. g. Sermon on St. Jude 17—21: "That which they (i. e. the Papists) call schism, we know to be our reasonable service unto God and obedience to His Voice, which crieth shrill in our ears, 'Go out of Babylon, My People, that you be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues.'" (Rev. xviii. 4.)

I may add, as naturalized in England, the illustrious name of Isaac Casaubon. See his Ephemerides, lately published at Oxford, p. 800, See also the excellent discourse of Bp. Bedell, in his Life by Burnet, pp. 155—173. London, 1692.

[4] Bp. Andrewes c. Bellarmin. capp. ix.—xii. pp. 220—290.

it was inferred by many persons, that *the rest* of their assertions were no less futile; and because much was shown to be Apostolic, which they had alleged to be Antichristian, therefore it came to be supposed, that what was Antichristian, might be Apostolic. And so the passionate zeal of the accuser wrought the acquittal of the accused; and some pious and sober-minded men, disgusted by the extravagant folly, and alarmed by the destructive violence, of these furious Religionists, ceased to regard Rome as Babylon; not from any amendment on her part, but only through the presumptuous ignorance and intemperate vehemence of her foes.[5]

What do we thence learn?

The necessity of sound reason and of sober caution, as well as of Christian charity, in the investigation of sacred truth. And, in the matter before us, we may rest assured, that however excellent our motives may be, we should in reality be acting as enemies to the cause of Christianity, as piously and wisely vindicated at our own Reformation; and be effective partisans of Romish error and corruption, if we were to bring a blind accusation of Popery against everything in the Church which displeases ourselves.

This has been signally exemplified in the history of the Interpretation of the Apocalypse.

They who employed it to denounce whatever they disapproved, brought discredit on this Divine Book; and they did much to invalidate its solemn warnings against Roman superstition, and to deprive the Church of its heavenly consolations.

We, therefore, have here a double duty. The Apocalypse is the Voice of God to the Church. On the one hand, although its prophecies have been misapplied by some, it is not safe for us to neglect their right application; on the other, we must be on our guard not to strain them beyond their proper limits, lest, by being applied where they are not applicable, they should become inapplicable where they ought to be applied.

[5] Compare the statements of Bishop Warburton, Discourse xxviii. vol. x. pp. 180, 181, ed. London, 1811.

6. Another consideration has had much weight even with some members of our own communion, and has rendered them unable to see the Church of Rome in the Apocalypse.

It is the following argument, with which we are often encountered, both by Romanists and Protestant Nonconformists. *If*,—they say,—the Church of Rome is the Apocalyptic Babylon, then you yourselves, the Ministers of the Church of England, who derive your Holy Orders from Rome, are infected with the taint of Babylon: your ministerial commission, therefore, is liable to grave suspicions: the validity of your ministrations is questionable; in a word,—by fixing a stigma on Rome, you have branded yourselves.

Such is the objection.

But, assuredly, the fear of it is as groundless, as the allegation of it is illogical.

We, of the Anglican Priesthood, do *not derive* our Holy Orders from *Rome*—but from CHRIST. He is the only *source* of all the grace which we dispense in our ministry. And suppose we admit (as we do) that this virtue flows *from* Him *through* some in communion with Rome, and suppose that *no* charitable allowance is to be made for those who held some of her doctrines in a darker age—what then? The Channel is not the Source. The human Officer is not the Divine Office. The validity of the commission is not impaired by the unworthiness of those *through* whom it was conveyed. The Vessels of the Temple of God were holy even at Babylon: and, after they had been on Belshazzar's table, they were restored to God's altar.[6] The Scribes and Pharisees, against whom Christ denounced woe, were to be obeyed, because *they sat in Moses' seat*,[7] and as far as they taught agreeably to his Law. The Word and Baptism of Christ, preached and administered even by a Judas, were efficacious to salvation. The Old Testament is not the less the Word of God because it has come to us by the hands of Jews, who rejected Him of whom *Moses and the Prophets did write*.[8] And so, the sacred commission,

[6] Ezra i. 7.

[7] Matt. xxiii. 2.

[8] John i. 45.

which the ministers of the Church of England have received *from* Christ, is not in any way impaired by transmission *through* some who were infected with Romish corruptions; but rather, in this preservation of the sacred deposit even in their hands, and in its conveyance to us, and in its subsequent purification from corrupt admixtures, and in its restoration to its ancient use, we recognize another proof of God's ever-watchful providence over His Church, and of His mercy to ourselves.

7. We ought, therefore, to be on our guard against two opposite errors. On the one hand, it is alleged by some, that, if Rome be a Church, she cannot be Babylon. On the other hand, it is said by others, that, if Rome be Babylon, she cannot be a Church. Both these conclusions are false. Rome may be a Church, and yet Babylon: and she may be Babylon, and yet a Church.

This is clear from the case of the Ancient Church of God.

The Israelites in the Wilderness were guilty of abominable *idolatry*. Yet they are called a *Church* in Holy Writ.[9] And why? Because they still retained the Law of God and the Priesthood.[1] So, also, Jerusalem—even when it had crucified Christ—is called in Scripture *the Holy City*.[2] And why? By reason of the truths and graces which she had received from God, and which had not yet been wholly taken away from her.

A distinction, we see, is to be made between what is due to God's goodness on the one side, and to man's depravity on the other.

As far as the *divine mercy* was concerned, God's Ancient People were a *Church:* but by reason of *their own wickedness,* they were even *a synagogue of Satan,*[3] and, as such, they were finally destroyed.

Hence, their ancient Prophets, looking at *God's mercy* to Jerusalem, speak of her as *Sion, the beloved City:*[4] but regarding *her iniquities,* they call her *Sodom, the bloody City.*[5]

[9] Acts vii. 38, 41, 43.
[2] Matt. xxvii. 53.
[4] Ps. lxxxvii. 2.
[1] Cp. Hooker, iii. c. 1 and 2.
[3] Rev. ii. 9; iii. 9.
[5] Isa. i. 9, 10; iii. 9. Ezek. xxiv. 6.

In like manner, by reason of God's goodness to her, Rome received at the beginning His Word and Sacraments, and through His long-suffering they are not yet utterly taken away from her: and by virtue of the remnants of *divine* truth and grace, which are yet spared to her, she is still a *Church*. But she has miserably marred and corrupted the gifts of God. She has been favoured by Him like Jerusalem, and like Jerusalem she has rebelled against Him. *He would have healed her, but she is not healed.*[6] And, therefore, though on the one hand, by His love, she was, and has not yet wholly ceased to be, a Christian Sion—on the other hand, through her own sins she is an Antichristian Babylon.[7]

8. Having now specified certain causes of a particular kind, which have partially interfered with the right application of these Apocalyptic prophecies, we should not be dealing candidly, if we did not advert to one, of a different nature, which has operated in a manner very unfavourable to the true Exposition of the Apocalypse.

This was the intimate connexion of some of our own Princes, especially three of the Stuart race, with Papal Courts. One of these three Sovereigns was wedded to a Princess of the Romish persuasion; the second was brought up under Romish influence; and the third was himself a Romanist, and endeavoured to establish the Romish Religion in this land. This civil connexion of England with Papal Courts exercised a pernicious influence on our own Theological Literature. Those writers were supposed to be ill-affected to the reigning Powers, and disloyal to the Throne, who identified Rome with Babylon, and pointed to the evils which Scripture reveals as the consequences of communion with her. They were discouraged or silenced: and so the true interpretation of the Apocalypse was for some time in peril of being obscured and even suppressed.[8]

[6] Jer. li. 9.

[7] See Dr. Jackson's Works, iii. p. 880, "How the Romish Church is both a Church, and yet the Synagogue of Satan."

[8] See the remarkable declaration of Mede concerning himself, Works,

This may be a warning, that civil connexions with Rome are not unattended with religious dangers. . . . Let us pass to another topic.

9. Many admirable works have been composed by our own Divines (such as Hooker, Andrewes, and Bramhall), in Vindication of the Church of England from the charge of Schism, preferred against her by Romish Controversialists, on the ground of her conduct at the Reformation, when she cleared herself from Romish errors, novelties, and corruptions.

It has been shown in those Vindications, that it is the bounden duty of all Churches to avoid strife, and to *seek peace, and ensue it.*[9] But it was also shown, no less clearly, that Unity in *error* is *not true* Unity, but is rather to be called a Conspiracy against the God of Unity and Truth.

Doubtless there is a Unity, when everything in Nature is wrapped in the gloom of Night, and bound with the chains of Sleep. Doubtless there is a Unity, when the Earth is congealed by frost, and mantled in a robe of snow. Doubtless there is a Unity, when the human voice is still, the hand motionless, the breath suspended, and the human frame is locked in the iron grasp of Death. And doubtless there is a Unity, when men surrender their Reason, and sacrifice their Liberty, and their Conscience, and seal up Scripture, and deliver themselves captives, bound hand and foot, to the dominion of the Church of Rome. But this is not the Unity of vigilance and light; it is the Unity of sleep and gloom. It is not the Unity of warmth and life; it is the Unity of cold and death. It is not true Unity, for it is not Unity in the Truth.

Therefore, since it has been proved by Appeals to Reason, to Scripture, and to Antiquity, that the Church of Rome has built *hay and stubble on the one foundation laid by Christ;*[1] that she has added to the faith many errors and corruptions which mar and vitiate it; and since, as the Holy Spirit

p. 880, Letter LVI. to Dr. Twisse, and the facts stated in Bp. Warburton's Sermon, and Pyle's Introduction to the Apocalypse.

[9] Ps. xxxiv. 14. 1 Pet. iii. 11.

[1] 1 Cor. iii. 12.

teaches us in the Apocalypse, it is the duty of every Church, which has fallen into error, *to repent;*[2] and since Jesus Christ Himself, our Great High Priest—*Who walketh in the midst of the Golden Candlesticks*—declares, that when a Church has *left her first love,* He will *remove her Candlestick out of its place except she repent,*[3] *and strengthen the things which remain, that are ready to die;*[4] and since the corruptions of *one* Church afford no palliation or excuse for those of *another;* for, as the Prophet says, *though Israel play the harlot, let not Judah sin;*[5] and, as Christ Himself teaches, though the Church of Sardis be *dead,*[6] and Laodicea be *neither hot nor cold,*[7] yet their sister Ephesus must *remember whence she has fallen, and do her first works,*[8] and Pergamos must *repent,* or He *will come quickly, and fight against her with the sword of His mouth*[9]—therefore, we say, it was justly concluded by our Divines, that no desire of Unity on our part, nor reluctance on the part of Rome to cast off her errors, could exempt England from the duty of Reformation; and if Rome, instead of removing her corruptions, refused to communicate with England, unless England consented to communicate with Rome in those corruptions, then no love of Unity could justify England in compliance with this requisition of Rome; for Unity in error is not Christian Unity; but, by imposing the necessity of erring as a term of Union, Rome became guilty of a breach of Unity, and so the sin of Schism lies at her door.

This has been clearly shown by our best English Divines; and a careful study of this proof is rendered requisite by the circumstances of our own times.

But there are many persons who have not the opportunity of perusing their works; and they who have, will not forget that those works are the works of *men,* and are not exempt from human imperfections.

10. Let all therefore remember, that there is *another* Work on this important subject; a Work *not* dictated by *man,* but

[2] Rev. iii. 3. [3] Rev. ii. 5. [4] Rev. iii. 2.
[5] Hos. iv. 15. [6] Rev. iii. 1. [7] Rev. iii. 15.
[8] Rev. ii. 5. [9] Rev. ii. 16.

by the Holy Spirit; a Work, accessible to all,—the Apocalypse of St. John.

The Holy Spirit, foreseeing, no doubt, that the Church of Rome would adulterate the truth by many "gross and grievous abominations"—I use the words of the judicious Hooker;[1] and that she would anathematize all who would not communicate with her, and denounce them as cut off from the body of Christ and from hope of everlasting salvation; foreseeing, also, that Rome would exercise a wide and dominant sway for many generations, by boldly iterated assertions of Unity, Antiquity, Sanctity, and Universality; foreseeing also, that these pretensions would be supported by the Civil sword of many secular Governments, among which the Roman Empire would be divided at its dissolution; and that Rome would thus be enabled to display herself to the world in an august attitude of Imperial power, and with the dazzling splendour of temporal felicity: foreseeing also that the Church of Rome would captivate the Imaginations of men by the fascinations of Art, allied with Religion; and would ravish their senses and rivet their admiration, by gaudy colours, and stately pomp, and prodigal magnificence: foreseeing also that she would beguile their credulity by Miracles and Mysteries, Apparitions and Dreams, Trances and Ecstasies, and would appeal to their evidence in support of her strange doctrines: foreseeing likewise, that she would enslave men, and, much more, women, by practising on their affections, and by accommodating herself, with dexterous pliancy, to their weaknesses, relieving them from the burden of thought and from the perplexity of doubt, by proffering them the aid of Infallibility; soothing the sorrows of the mourner by dispensing pardon and promising peace to the departed; removing the load of guilt from the oppressed conscience by the ministry of the Confessional, and by nicely-poised compensations for sin; and that she would flourish for many centuries in proud and prosperous impunity, before her *sins would reach to heaven, and come in remembrance before God:*[2] foreseeing

[1] Eccles. Polit. iii. 1. 10.

[2] Rev. xvi. 19; xviii. 5.

also, that many generations of men would thus be tempted to fall from the faith, and to become victims of deadly error; and that they who clung to the truth would be exposed to cozening flatteries, and fierce assaults, and savage tortures from her;—The HOLY SPIRIT, I say, foreseeing all these things in His Divine knowledge, and being the Ever-Blessed Teacher, Guide, and COMFORTER of the Church, was graciously pleased to provide a spiritual antidote for these wide-spread and long-enduring evils, by dictating the APOCALYPSE.

In this divine Book the Spirit of God has portrayed the Church of Rome, such as none but HE could have foreseen she would become, and such as, wonderful and lamentable to say, she has become. He has thus broken her magic spell; He has taken the wand of enchantment from the hand of this spiritual Circe; He has lifted the mask from her face; and with His Divine finger He has written her true character in large letters, and has planted her title on her forehead, to be seen and read by all,—"MYSTERY, BABYLON THE GREAT, THE MOTHER OF THE ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH."[3]

Thus the Almighty and All-wise God Himself has vouchsafed to be the Arbiter between Babylon and Sion, between the Harlot and the Bride, between Rome and the Church. And therefore, with the Apocalypse in our hands, we need not fear the anathemas which Rome now hurls against us. The Thunders of the Roman Pontiff are not so powerful and dreadful as the Thunders of St. John, the divine "Son of Thunder," which are winged by the Spirit of God in the Apocalypse.

What is it to us, if the Pope[4] of Rome declares, *Ye cannot be saved, unless ye bow to me,* when the Holy Ghost says by St. John, *Come out of her, My People, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues?*

Here then we have a *divine* Vindication of the Church of

[3] Rev. xvii. 5.

[4] Pope Boniface VIII. Extra. 1, Tit. vii. says: "Subesse Romano Pontifici, *omni humanæ creaturæ* declaramus esse de necessitate salutis."

England, and of her Reformation; and our appeal is, in this great question between us and Rome, not to Bishop Jewel and Hooker, not to Bishop Andrewes and Archbishop Bramhall, excellent as their writings are, but it is to St. John, the beloved disciple of Christ, and to the Holy Spirit of God.

11. Some persons, impelled by charitable motives, which are entitled to respect, have cherished a hope that a Union might one day be possible between the *Churches* of England and Rome: and some, it is to be feared, have been betrayed into suppressions and compromises of the truth, with a view to that result.

It is indeed greatly to be wished, that, if it so pleased God, *all Churches* might be *united in the truth*. It may, also, be reasonably expected, that, as the time of her doom draws near, many *members of the Church of Rome* may be awakened from their slumber,—that they may be excited by God's grace to examine their own position, and to contrast the present tenets of Rome with the doctrines of Christ and His Apostles. Thus they may be enabled to purify the truth which they retain from the dross of corruption with which it is adulterated; thus they may be empowered by God's grace to emancipate themselves from her thraldom *into the glorious liberty of the children of God*.[5]

Our own duty it is, to do all in our power to accelerate this blessed work. But let us be sure that it will be *impeded* by all who *disguise the truth*. It will be retarded by all who connive at, flatter, or extenuate guilt. It can only be furthered by uncompromising, though not uncharitable, statements of the sin and danger of communicating in the errors and corruptions of Rome.

And, of all the instruments which it has pleased God to give us for this holy labour of religious Restoration, none assuredly is so effectual as the language of the Holy Spirit in the Apocalypse of St. John.

His divine Voice forbids us to look for Union with the *Church* of Rome. We cannot unite with her as *she is now;*

[5] Rom. viii. 21.

and it forbids us to expect that Rome will be other than she is. It reveals the awful fact that *Babylon will be Babylon to the end.* It displays her ruin. It says that *death, mourning, and famine,* are her destiny: and that she will *be burnt with fire.*[6] It shows us *the smoke of her burning;*[7] and we look upon that sad spectacle from afar with such feelings of amazement and awe as filled the heart of the Patriarch, when *he looked toward Sodom and Gomorrah, and toward all the land of the plain; and, lo, the smoke of the country went up as the smoke of a furnace.*[8]

Let none imagine that Rome is changed: that, although she was once proud and cruel, she is now humble and gentle; and that we have nothing to fear from her. This is not the doctrine of Rome herself. She proclaims herself *Infallible,* and therefore *cannot change.* And the Holy Ghost in the Apocalypse teaches us that she is unchanged and unchangeable. He warns us, that *if* she regains her sway, she will persecute with the same fury as before.[9] She will break forth with all the violence of suppressed rage. She will again be *drunken with the blood of the Saints.*[1] Let us be sure of this; and let us take heed accordingly. We have need to do so; more need, perhaps, than some of us are aware. The warning is from God: *He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.*[2]

12. Again: from the Apocalypse we learn, that Rome will

[6] Rev. xvii. 16. [7] Rev. xviii. 8. [8] Gen. xix. 28.

[9] Let me add here the sober reflections of our great philosophical divine, Bishop Butler:—"The value of *our own Established Church* ought to be very much heightened in our esteem by considering what it is a security from,—I mean the great corruption of Christianity, Popery; which is *ever hard at work to bring us again under its yoke.* Whoever will consider Popery as it is professed at Rome, may see that it is a manifest *open usurpation of all human and divine authority.* In those Roman Catholic countries, where its monstrous claims are not admitted, and the civil power does in many respects restrain the Papal, yet *persecution* is *professed,* as it is also *enjoined* by what is acknowledged to be their highest authority,—a General Council, so called, with a Pope at the head of it; and is *practised in all* of them, I think *without exception,* where it can be done with safety."—Bp. Butler's Serm. V. on 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2.

[1] Rev. xvii. 6. [2] Matt. xi. 15. Rev. ii. 7, 11, 17, 29.

be visited with plagues, like Egypt, but that, like the Sovereign of Egypt, she will *not repent:* her empire will *be darkened,*[3] and her citizens will *gnaw their tongues for pain.*[4] But she will not *repent of her deeds.*[5] She will be Babylon to the end. And God forbid that England should be joined with Babylon!

Here then is a warning to us as a Nation. Let us pause before, with a view to peace, we sacrifice truth. Let us not incur God's malediction, *by doing evil that good may come.*[6] Let us repent of the sins we have already committed, in this respect. Let us not treat the Roman Babylon as if it were Sion, lest God should treat the English Sion as if it were Babylon.

13. Many there are among us, who seem to find pleasure in forgetting the spiritual blessings, which the members of the Church of England enjoy, and to take pleasure in exposing and exaggerating personal defects in her Rulers; and some there are who use and recommend Romish books of devotion, and speak of the Church of Rome as *the Catholic Church,* the Roman See as the Centre of Unity, and would bring all under the sway of the Roman Pontiff.

Let them look at the Churches of Asia as represented in the earlier chapters of the Apocalypse. They are Seven, and by their Sevenfold unity they represent the Universal Church, made up of particular Churches: and what is said by Christ to them, is not to be understood as said to them exclusively, but as addressed to every Church in Christendom. The language of St. John to each of them is, "Hear what the Spirit saith unto the Churches."[7]

Were the seven Churches of Asia subject to the Bishop of *Rome?* No. Was any one of them so subject? Not one. They were all governed by St. John, and one *like the Son of man walked in the midst of the Candlesticks,* and ordered St. John to *write to the Angel* of each Church. That is,

[3] Rev. xvi. 10.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Rev. xvi. 9, 11.
[6] Rom. iii. 8.
[7] Rev. ii. 7, 11, 17, 29; iii. 6, 13, 22.

every Church in Christendom is governed by Christ: and it is instructed by Him, not through the Bishop of Rome, but through its own Bishops; and all,—Bishops, Clergy, and People,—are responsible to Christ.

The Seven Churches of Asia are now no more. *Their* Candlesticks *have* been removed. Here is a solemn warning to the Church of Rome—*Remember whence thou art fallen; repent, and do thy first works, or I will remove thy Candlestick out of its place.* Cease to claim Universal Dominion: cease to boast that the Roman See is the Rock of the Church. Behold the true Catholic and Apostolic Church displayed by St. John. She does not wear the Papal tiara, but is crowned with *twelve* stars:[9] she does not sit upon the seven hills, but she has *twelve foundations, and in them are the names of the twelve Apostles of the Lamb.*[1]

If, therefore, any of the members of the Church of England should feel shaken in their allegiance to her, or be fascinated by the claims of Rome, they will find divine guidance and warning in the Apocalypse.

We may thank God, and we can never thank Him enough, that the Church of England does not impose any unscriptural terms of communion; that she holds in her hands the Scriptures pure and entire; has an uninterrupted succession of Bishops; that she administers the Sacraments fully and freely by an Apostolic Priesthood; that she keeps the Catholic Faith as embodied in the Three Creeds, and possesses a Scriptural and Catholic Liturgy. But we do *not* say that the Church of England is *perfect.* No: there are tares mixed with the wheat here, and in every part of the visible Church. We are on earth, and not in heaven; and we are subject to the infirmities of earth. In this world we *dwell in Mesech, and have our habitation in the tents of Kedar.*[2] On earth, the true Church of Christ is not, and never will be, in a state of peace and happiness. No: she is the

[8] Rev. ii. 5.

[9] Rev. xii. 1.

[1] Rev. xxi. 14. This *twelvefold Apostolic Universality* of the Church is also displayed in the number of the sealed, who are 12 × 12,000. Rev. vii. 4; xiv. 1.

[2] Ps. cxx. 5.

Woman persecuted by the Dragon, and driven by *him into the Wilderness,* subject to manifold persecutions, offences, distresses, and trials, from within and without. But the Church in the wilderness *brings forth a man-child,* who has power to *rule the nations with a rod of iron,* and is *caught up to God, and His throne.* Such will be the lot of *the remnant of her seed who keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ.*[3] Such is the character of the true Church; and so now the Church of England, distracted as she is by divisions within, and beleaguered by foes without, and persecuted by the powers of Evil, and, like Eve, *bringing forth children in sorrow,* and *in travail with them till Christ be formed in their hearts,*[4] has never failed to bring forth masculine spirits, who have been endued with power by Christ to break the earthen vessels of godless theories with the iron rod of God's Word;[5] and they have been caught up to Christ in a glorious apotheosis. And if we are true to Christ, if we are of the *holy seed,* and *keep God's commandments,* and *have the testimony of Jesus Christ,* in this wilderness of doubt and danger, even Persecution itself will give us wings for heaven.

And, that we may not be perplexed by the lukewarmness of many who profess the truth, or exasperated by the tyranny of evil men, and so, in a fit of weak and irritable impatience, fall into schism,—let us observe the Apocalyptic Churches. Though under the government of St. John and of Apostolic Bishops, not one of them is free from blemish. Christ *does not find their works perfect.*[6] He notes their errors in doctrine, and reproves their defects in discipline.[7] And what follows? Does He advise their members to *quit them?* Does He exhort them to pass from Ephesus or Sardis to *Rome,* and to look for peace and perfection there? No: He commands them *to repent, to watch, to strengthen the things that remain, to abide in the truth, to be faithful unto death.* This is His exhortation to *us.* Hold fast the truth.

[3] See Rev. xii. 5—17.
[4] Gen. iii. 16. Gal. iv. 19.
[5] Ps. ii. 9.
[6] Rev. iii. 2.
[7] Rev. ii. 5, 10, 16, 20; iii. 2.

In patience possess ye your souls.[8] Edify the Church of England by long-suffering, meekness, zeal, faithfulness, holiness, and love. Pray for her, labour for her: be thankful for the privileges, the inestimable privileges, which you enjoy in her communion. Use them aright; and *you will save yourself and others.*[9]

But let us now remark, that the Apostle St. John, as we have seen, having before his eyes many Churches requiring reformation, Churches of *his own age* and under *his own jurisdiction*, yet says little to them in comparison with what he says of the *future* condition of *another* Church, the Church of the City on the Seven Hills,—the Church of the Imperial City,—the Church of Rome.

He *contrasts* her, in her corrupt state, with the Woman in the wilderness,—who will hereafter be the Bride in heaven; that is, he contrasts her with the Church militant on earth, who will hereafter be the Church triumphant and glorified. And he calls her the harlot. He contrasts her with the new Jerusalem, or spiritual Sion, and he calls her Babylon. He reveals her history, even to her fall.

And wherefore does he speak so largely of her? Because, being inspired by the Holy Ghost, he foreknew what she would become. He foresaw how imposing her claims would be; how extensive her sway; how powerful her influence; how dangerous her corruptions; how deadly her errors; and how awful would be her end.

Therefore he uplifts the veil which hung before the future, and he displays her in her true colours. He writes her name on her forehead,—*Mystery, Babylon the Great.* He does this in love, and in desire for our salvation. He does it, in order that no one may be deceived by her; that no one may regard her as the Bride, since Christ condemns her as the Harlot; and that none should dwell in her as Sion, since God will destroy her as Babylon.

14. The Church of Rome holds in her hand the Apocalypse —*the Revelation of Jesus Christ.* She acknowledges it to be

[8] Luke xxi. 19. [9] 1 Tim. iv. 16.

divine.[1] Wonderful to say, she founds her claims on those very grounds which identify her with the faithless Church, —the Apocalyptic Babylon. As follows:—

(1) The Church of Rome boasts of Universality.

Yes, and we read that the Harlot is seated *on many waters, which are Nations, and Peoples, and Tongues.*

(2) The Church of Rome arrogates Indefectibility.

And the Harlot says *that she is a Queen for ever.*

(3) The Church of Rome vaunts temporal felicity, and claims supremacy over all.

Yes; and in the Apocalypse the Harlot has *kings at her feet.*

(4) The Church of Rome prides herself on working miracles.

Yes; and in the Apocalypse the minister of the Harlot makes *fire to descend from heaven.*

(5) The Church of Rome points to the Unity of all her members in one creed, and to their subjection under one supreme visible Head.

Yes; and in the Apocalypse the Harlot requires *all to receive her mark, and to drink of her cup.*

Hence it appears that Rome's "*notes of the Church*" are marks of the Harlot: Rome's trophies of triumph are stigmas of her shame; the very claims which she makes to be Sion, confirm the proof that she is Babylon.

Therefore, let us not be weak in the faith; let us not be confounded by the wide extent, the temporal prosperity, the alleged Unity and Universality, and the long impunity, of Rome. It was prophesied by St. John that she would have a wide and enduring sway; that God, in His long-suffering to her, would give her time to repent, if haply she would repent; that He would heal her, if she would be healed; but that, alas! she would *not repent,* and that her sins would at length *ascend to heaven,* and that *she would come in remembrance before God.* And when that awful hour shall arrive, then, woe to the Preachers of the Gospel, if they have not taken up the warning of St. John, and sounded

[1] See Canons of Council of Trent, Sess. iv.

the trumpet of alarm in the ears of their hearers, *Come out of her, my people, and be not partakers of her sins, lest ye receive also of her plagues.*[2]

15. Lastly, another caution is here given by St. John.

Some, at the present critical time, may be in danger of being deluded by the confident language and bearing of Rome. They may imagine, that a cause pursued with such sanguine reliance, and with such outward appearance of success, must be good. But let us remember the parallel—Babylon. Its streets echoed with music; its halls resounded with mirth and revelry; its king's guards were intoxicated at the gates of the city and at the very doors of the palace, and the vessels of God were on the tables at the royal banquet, when *the fingers of a man's hand came forth from the wall*,—and Babylon fell.[3]

So it is probable that Rome will be most infatuated, when most in peril. She will exult with joy, and be flushed with hope, and be elated with triumph, when the judgments of God are ready to fall upon her. Her Prelates will vaunt her power, and will, as at this hour, be making new aggressions, and be putting forth new doctrines, and be entranced in a dream of security, when her doom is nigh. And, as the great River, the river Euphrates, the glory and bulwark of Babylon, became a road for Cyrus and his victorious army, when he besieged and took the city, so it may be anticipated that the swelling stream of Rome's Supremacy, which has now flowed on so proudly for so many centuries, and has served for her aggrandizement, will (by exasperating many potent enemies against her) be in God's hands the means and occasion of her destruction and final desolation; and so the *drying up* of that spiritual *Euphrates* will prepare a *Way for the Kings of the East*[4]—that is, for Jesus Christ, and for the *Children of Light*, who are His faithful soldiers and servants, and who will be admitted to share in the royal

[2] Rev. xviii. 4.

[3] Compare Dan. v. 5, 6, 7, &c., and Isa. xxi., with Xenophon, Cyrop. vii. 5.

[4] Rev. xvi. 12; cp. Isa. xliv. 27, 28; xlv. 1. Jer. l. 38; li. 36.

splendour of the Mighty Conqueror, the King of Glory, Who is the *Dayspring from on high,—the Light of the World,—the Sun of Righteousness, with healing in His wings.*[5]

May all who read these words be of that blessed company, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

[5] Luke i. 78. John viii. 12. Mal. iv. 2.

RECORDS OF THE CONGRESS OF OLD CATHOLICS AT COLOGNE IN 1872.

I RECEIVED an invitation to the Congress, in a letter dated July 10th, 1872, from the Secretary of the Cologne Committee, Dr. H. Wingerath; but I felt some doubts whether to accept the invitation, for reasons stated to the Clergy and Laity of the Diocese of Lincoln in the following Letter:—

The relation subsisting between us, and the kindnesses received by me at your hands, induce me to address you on the following subject:—

In the Diocesan Synod, held at Lincoln, on September 20th, 1871, a resolution was adopted, expressive of sympathy with the "Old Catholics" of Germany; and I was authorized by the Synod to address a letter, in its name, assuring them of the interest we feel in their work, and of the hope we entertain of their success.

A similar feeling was manifested by the large gathering of Clergy and Laity at the "Church Congress" held a few weeks afterwards in the largest town of this Diocese, Nottingham. The letter of the Lincoln Diocesan Synod elicited a grateful acknowledgment from the President of a meeting of the Old Catholics; and the courteous reference made by Dr. Von Döllinger to the proceedings of the Nottingham Church Congress is probably well known to you.

It is doubtless due to those expressions on your part, that I have been invited to attend the Congress of Old Catholics, which is appointed to be held at Cologne, on September 20th, 21st, 22nd, of this year.

This invitation has caused me some hesitation.

If I were to decline it, I might perhaps incur the charge of indifference to what appears a great and holy cause, and of acting in a spirit at variance with that which was expressed at the Lincoln Diocesan Synod, and in the Church Congress at Nottingham.

The Church of England, by her peculiar constitution and position, both as Catholic and Protestant, seems to have peculiar responsibilities and duties at this crisis to the Old Catholics and to the whole of Christendom; as well as to possess some special privileges and advantages for imparting to others the spiritual benefits which she herself, by God's goodness, richly enjoys.

On the other hand, it might be apprehended, that by accepting the invitation I should perhaps be thought by some to be identifying myself with the "Old Catholics," and to be committing myself, and (what is a more serious matter) to be committing you, and the Church of England, to the various opinions which have been adopted, or may be adopted, by them.

After giving to this grave matter the best consideration in my power, and after consultation with others to whose judgment a respectful deference is due, and after earnest prayer to Almighty God for guidance, I have deemed it best, on the whole, to accept the invitation; but, at the same time, in accepting it I have thought it my duty to guard carefully against those inferences which I have just specified, and to state distinctly the understanding on which the invitation is accepted by me.

This I have endeavoured to do in the Reply which I have made to the invitation of the Old Catholics, and which I feel it my duty to communicate to you, in order that you may see what the conditions are upon which I should go to the Congress, provided it should be willing to accept me on those terms. I have not the presumption to imagine, that if I were to go to Cologne, I should go, in any respect, as a representative of the Church of England, or of this Diocese; and I wish it distinctly to be understood that I disclaim such pretensions. If I go to the Congress, it will

be in order to show sympathy with a body of men whom I greatly admire, and to testify an interest in a cause which I believe to be the cause of God; and which seems to have a strong claim on the support and co-operation of all who wish well to the peace, freedom, good order, and happiness of Civil Governments, as well as of the Christian Church.

In the event of my going to the Congress of Old Catholics at Cologne, I feel bound to declare, that I should go in a spirit of uncompromising loyalty to those fundamental principles of Christian doctrine and discipline which are contained in Holy Scripture as received and expounded by the judgment and practice of the Primitive Church, and as reasserted by the Church of England at the Reformation in the sixteenth century.

Earnestly requesting your prayers on its behalf,

I am, my dear Friends,

Yours sincerely,

C. LINCOLN.

Riseholme, Lincoln, August 9th, 1872.

Let me now be allowed to express the feelings with which, after careful consideration, I accepted the invitation. This may be done by transcribing the reply written to Dr. Wingerath; to which I will subjoin an English translation.

Viro erudito

DOCTORI H. WINGERATH,

S. P. D.

CHRISTOPHORUS WORDSWORTH,

Episcopus Lincolniensis.

Literis tuis, vir humanissime, quibus me ad Concilium Veterum Catholicorum Coloniæ Agrippinensis mense Septembri habendum vocâsti, citiùs rescripsissem, nisi res, de quâ in tuâ Epistolâ agitur, tanti momenti videretur, ut deliberationem maturam flagitaret.

Consulendos quoque de eâ arbitrabar viros quosdam primarios, quorum apud me plurimum valet auctoritas, præsertim Reverendissimum Antistitem, Archiepiscopum Cantua-

riensem, hujusce Provinciæ Metropolitanum, cui canonicam obedientiam debeo. Rem quoque retuli ad venerabile Ecclesiæ nostræ Cathedralis Capitulum, cujus suffragio jam munitus hodie tibi respondeo, cum grati animi erga te tuosque significatione, sperans fore, ut, diebus a te indictis, Deo favente, præsentiâ vestrâ Coloniæ fruar, et conventui vestro intersim.

Sed dum hanc spem jucundam foveo, nonnullæ me movent rationes, ut indulgentiam a te paulisper petam, dum animi sensus intimos tibi liberè exponere conor, quibus in incepto vestro tam arduo tamque glorioso contemplando afficior.

Primitivam Ecclesiæ fidem instaurare, antiquam Ecclesiæ disciplinam redintegrare, errores, corruptelas, novitates et superstitiones abstergere, in Ecclesiâ Catholicâ gliscentes et ingravescentes, et contra spiritualem illam dominationem strenuè decertare, quæ Sacræ Scripturæ auctoritati et Christianæ Antiquitati adversatur, et omnia in Ecclesiâ et Republicâ perturbare, et pessundare, aggreditur,—hoc sanè saluberrimum opus esse videtur et nobilissimum, et quod omnium Christi fidelium studia ad se jure debeat allicere et conciliare.

Quocirca mihi quidem videtur, nos, qui in Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ gremio sumus nutriti, et qui insigni Dei Optimi Maximi clementiâ præclaris in Ejus Communione beneficiis per multa jam sæcula fruimur, vix Christiano nomine dignos existimatum iri, nisi omnia vobis prospera auguraremur et apprecaremur, et operam nostram pro virili parte vobis subministraremus.

Quâ quidem in contemplatione, non ingrata animum subit recordatio, quædam esse planè singularia, quæ amoris et pietatis nexibus nos vobiscum devinciunt.

Mille et centum anni jam effluxerunt, ex quo sanctus Bonifacius, quem vos "Germaniæ Apostolum" jure appellatis, ab Angliæ nostræ litoribus ad Evangelium apud vos prædicandum profectus est. In iis præcipuè urbibus, ubi veterum Catholicorum nomen hodie potissimum floret (quod felix faustumque sit!) Apostolicum ministerium exercuit. Ultrajectum, Colonia Agrippinæ, spiritualium ejus certaminum testes sunt. In Bavariâ Ecclesias struxit. Fuldense cœno-

bium condidit. Moguntiaci Sedem Episcopalem obtinuit, Germaniæ et Belgii Primas. Complures Cathedras Episcopales in Germaniâ vestrâ erexit. Octo Concilia apud vos habuit, ut fidem Christianam promoveret, et disciplinam stabiliret. Denique Christi Ecclesiam, quam apud vos Apostolicâ manu plantaverat, sanguine suo beatissimus Martyr irrigavit.

Nos igitur Angli, nostrorum et vestrorum annalium memoriam recolentes, cum vobis, Germaniæ veteribus Catholicis, Christianæ fidei et pietatis arctissimis vinculis constringi videmur et consociari.

Nec minus nos officia Christianæ benevolentiæ a vobis erga nos præstita sumus experti. Septimo post Christum natum sæculo, venit ad nos a regionibus vestris vir sanctus Botolphus, divini Verbi præco fervidissimus, et nobis præcipuè, qui agrum Lincolniensem incolimus, nunquam sine honore memorandus, ubi in fide Christianâ propagandâ feliciter laboravit, et apud quos urbs[1] florentissima nomen ejus est sortita, et memoriam ejus hodie servat et veneratur.

Liceat quoque mihi, vir humanissime, exemplum eruditissimi Præsulis excitare, qui per decem annos sedem Episcopalem Lincolniensem ornavit, Gulielmi Wake, et qui ad Archiepiscopatum Cantuariensem evectus fraternam concordiam atque consensum inter nos Anglos et veteres Galliæ Catholicos fovere commercio Epistolico,[2] et aliis benevolentiæ officiis, impensè et strenuè tentavit. Cujus quidem desideriis et conatibus si eventus respondisset, minimè dubito quin alia futura fuisset Galliæ et Europæ facies atque alius status, quàm quem hodie cum tanto dolore omnes videmus.

His igitur præteriti temporis monumentis edocti, præclarè de nobis actum iri arbitraremur, si ad opus illud absolvendum a vobis tam feliciter inchoatum nobis aliquid adjumenti afferre liceret. Quid enim excogitari potest exoptabilius, quàm unanimi consensu laborare ad Dei gloriam amplificandam, et Ecclesiæ emolumentum promovendum?

[1] Boston: i. e. St. Botolph's town.

[2] Vide Hist. Eccles. Moshemianam, ed. Lond. 1833, Append. 3.

Accessit insuper aliud, propter quod literæ tuæ humanissimæ non mediocri voluptate me affecerunt.

Proximo anno Lincolniæ in Ecclesiâ nostrâ Cathedrali Synodum habuimus, cui interfuerunt presbyteri hujus Diœcesis circiter quingenti, in quâ fraternum erga vos studium testificati sumus, et Synodicâ Epistolâ declarandum censuimus.[3]

Paucis quoque interjectis diebus, in nobilissimâ hujus Diœcesis urbe, Nottinghamiâ, Conventus Ecclesiasticus cleri et populi habitus est frequentissimus, qui propensissimo erga vos veteres Catholicos affectu est animatus, et in quo vestrarum rerum gestarum, magno cum audientium plausu, facta est commemoratio.[4]

Quæ cum ita sint, equidem mihi viderer officio meo Episcopali defuturus, et fratrum meorum votis parum satisfacturus, si a vobis ultro ad concilium Coloniæ propediem habendum honorificè appellatus, desiderio vestro obtemperare detrectarem.

Verum enimvero, Vir amplissime, veniam te mihi largiturum facile mihi persuadeo, si, his lubentissimè commemoratis, quædam alia, sepositis omnibus ambagibus, et unico veritatis studio commotus, nunc adjecero.

Vos, viri spectatissimi, "veterum Catholicorum" nomen vobis vindicatis; splendidum titulum sanè atque magnificum.

Nos quoque, Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Episcopi, Presbyteri, Diaconi et Fideles, eandem veterum Catholicorum appellationem nobismet ipsis attribuere non dubitamus. Omnem enim fidei Christianæ doctrinam recipimus, quæ, a fonte sanctæ Scripturæ profluens, ad nos, per consensum Ecclesiæ veteris Catholicæ, tanquam per sacrum canalem, manavit.

Nos tria Ecclesiæ veteris symbola,—Apostolicum, Nicænum, Athanasianum,—in Ecclesiis nostris recitamus. Nos Conciliorum veterum decreta in rebus fidei agnoscimus et veneramur. Nos, secundum Ecclesiæ veteris normam, tres Ministrorum ordines, Episcoporum, Presbyterorum et Diaconorum, continuâ serie et nunquam interruptâ successione,

[3] Vide "Lincoln Diocesan Calendar for 1872," pp. 101-4.

[4] Report of the Nottingham Church Congress, Oct. 12, 1871.

ab ipsis Apostolorum temporibus, ad Dei Verbum rite prædicandum, et ad Sacramenta Christi legitimè administranda, consecramus. Ut verbo dicam, quodcunque Ecclesia vetus Catholica, ad salutem æternam necessarium, agnovit atque recepit, nos agnoscimus atque recipimus; quodcunque in fidei articulis Ecclesia vetus Catholica ignoravit vel repudiavit, nos ignoramus et repudiamus.

Hìc, igitur, vir egregie, oritur quæstio non levis, inter nos vosque, amicè, tranquillè et moderatè, et sine partium studio, prout Christianos et Catholicos decet, dispicienda et disquirenda.

In illâ fidei formulâ, quam à vobis anno 1871 Monachii promulgatam vidimus, duæ proponuntur assertiones, (pace vestrâ dixerim) quæ non parvum nobis scrupulum injiciunt.

Primo enim loco vos Professionem fidei amplecti videmini, quæ a Pio Quarto Papâ est edita,[5] sæculo decimo sexto vergente, nempe anno 1564; et quæ omnibus tanquam ad salutem necessaria præscribitur, "extra quam nemo salvus esse possit."

Quâ quidem in Pii IV^ti^ professione, duodecim fidei articulos deprehendimus, symbolo Nicæno-Constantinopolitano assutos, non quasi probabiles opiniones, sed sub pœnâ æternæ damnationis ab omnibus recipiendos; quos ab Ecclesiâ vetere Catholicâ receptos, nedum omnibus inculcatos, nemo unquam demonstravit, neque demonstrare poterit.

Nobis quidem, in Ecclesiâ Anglicanâ enutritis, hi fidei articuli, utpote sequioris ævi placita, non se approbaverunt. Symbolis Ecclesiæ veteris Catholicæ acquiescimus. Et (si liberè loqui fas est) vir ornatissime, vos quoque Ecclesiæ veteris fide contenti esse debetis, si veteres Catholici, non nomine tantum appellari, sed re verâ esse, desideratis.

Audaciusculè forsan hæc effutiisse videar; sed vos ipsi huic nostræ loquendi libertati occasionem præbuistis. Etenim in eâdem vestrâ fidei formulâ, quam Monachii nuper

[5] Programm des Katholiken-Congresses in München (22-24 September, 1871). Stenographischer Bericht über die Behandlungen des Katholiken-Congresses. s. 221. Vide etiam ibid. Art. vii. ubi omnia Ecclesiæ Romanæ dogmata, Vaticanis decretis priora, approbari videntur.

edidistis,[6] vos ad decreta Conciliorum Ecclesiæ Catholicæ *indivisæ*, tanquam ad optimum et tutissimum credendi exemplar, appellatis. Rectè sanè et egregiè, et quemadmodum veteres Catholicos decet.

Sed da veniam, sodes, vir humanissime, dum a te modestissimè quæro, si ad *indivisæ* Ecclesiæ fidem, tanquam ad sacrum portum confugitis, quorsum alter ille vester recursus ad Pii IV^ti^ Professionem, quæ certè ab indivisâ Ecclesiâ non est profecta, sed innumeras in Ecclesiâ divisiones peperit?

Hæc, ingenuè fateor, ut mihi quidem videtur, "non benè conveniunt, neque in unâ sede morantur." Sed quandoquidem *veteres Catholici* appellari et esse vultis, malumus credere vos vetera Ecclesiæ indivisæ decreta novitiis Pii IV^ti^ placitis esse prælaturos.

Quam quidem sententiam firmiùs amplector, quippe qui persuasissimum habeam, vos, si Pii Quarti dogmata mordicus tenetis, nunquam contra Pii Noni placita prævalituros; præcipuè contrà illud novissimum figmentum, et portentosum Vaticani sui concilii effatum, quo Infallibilitatis prærogativam sibi impiè arrogavit, et sic se suosque perpetuâ et inextricabili errandi necessitate implicavit et irretivit.

Hæc, vir erudite, nimis calidè fortasse disputari arbitraberis; sed longo usu didicisse mihi videor, veritatem, eamque sine fuco et fallaciis simplicem et illibatam, unicum esse Christiani amoris argumentum et significationem. Quare te tuosque his condonaturos facile mihi persuadeo.

Debebam quoque apertè declarare id quod de his rebus animo sentio, quippe qui officii vinculis, non tantum erga vos, sed erga nostrates quoque, obstrictus sim; et de utrisque malè meruisse mihi viderer, si, vobis inhonestâ adulatione assentando, Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ causam, (quam Dei et Veritatis esse causam nullus dubito) indecorâ proditione propinavissem. Nos nullas novitates in rebus fidei aucupamur, imò prorsus detestamur. Nos cum omnibus in verâ fide Catholicâ atque disciplinâ communicare avemus, et si quid nos ipsi a vetustate verè Catholicâ defecisse deprehensi fuerimus in rebus ad æternam salutem necessariis, (de adiaphoris nihil moror) ad primitivæ Ecclesiæ regulam

[6] Loco citato p. 221.

a vobis revocari non refragamur, imò summoperè desideramus.

Sed hæc hâctenus. Quoniam autem loquendi libertatem mihi vos non illibenter concessuros pro certo habeam, hoc quod jam restat dicendum, sine ullâ tergiversatione vel dissimulatione eloquar.

Neminem fere latet paullò attentiorem, vos, qui nobilissimum opus in vos suscepistis, Ecclesiam Catholicam ad veterem puritatem revocandi, in ancipiti rerum discrimine, quùm politicarum tùm præcipuè Ecclesiasticarum, hodie versari. Inter Scyllam atque Charybdim vobis est navigandum. Ab unâ parte, metuendum est ne formidolosâ Pontificis Romani dominatione, omnia ad se rapiente, et humana atque divina jura sub pedibus proculcante, prosternamini et obruamini. Ab alterâ parte, non minus verendum est, ne in multifaria dissidia distrahamini, et in novas opiniones et indisciplinatam licentiam evagemini, et, debilitatis et fractis per mutuas dissentiones viribus (ignoscite, quæso, liberrimè loquenti) in confusionem civilem et ecclesiasticam dissolvamini. Unicum meo saltem judicio contra tanta mala remedium est, ut verè veteres esse Catholici firmiter atque constanter perseveretis. "Hic murus ahenëus esto." Unitas in veritate contra unitatem in errore opponenda est. Authenticâ Christi Infallibilitate contrà adulterinam Pontificis Infallibilitatem est obnitendum. In Ecclesiâ verè Catholicâ contra Pontificis Ecclesiam hæreticam atque schismaticam est decertandum. Nulla doctrina, tanquam ad salutem æternam necessaria, populo credenda debet proponi, nisi quæ ex Oraculis divinis Sacræ Scripturæ hausta sit, et sinceræ Antiquitatis Christianæ fidei consentanea. Episcopi Catholici, Apostolorum successores, sed jam mancipia Pontificis facti, et Cathedræ Pontificiæ iniquissimi jurisjurandi, per quatuordecim sæcula post Christum natum inauditi, catenâ obstricti, magno Ecclesiæ detrimento, et suo ipsorum dedecori, in libertatem pristinam sunt vindicandi. Si his armis dimicaveritis, certam victoriam vobis Deo assistente, polliceri poteritis. Tum demùm Ecclesia Catholica genuinâ puritate clarescet, et venustate reflorescet primitivâ.

Sed ut hæc votis nostris respondeant, non tantum numerosis hominum ingenii et eloquentiæ dotibus instructorum conventibus, utcunque ad mentes hominum excitandas et accendendas necessariis, et plaudentium multitudinum acclamationibus, res (meâ quidem sententiâ) transigenda est, sed quietè et tranquillè, et conjunctis consiliis virorum modestiâ, verecundiâ, gravitate, eruditione, sapientiâ, puritate fidei, et sanctitate vitæ, spectatissimorum, præcipuè autem, sine quo nihil firmum esse potest, DEI Optimi Maximi favore et præsidio.

Si quid apud vos auctoritas nostra valeret, quæ sentio quàm sit exigua, suaderem vobis (utcunque indignus qui monitoris partes in me suscipiam), ut quemadmodum factum legimus in Conciliis Ecclesiæ veteris, in quibus sacer EVANGELII Codex in regali throno in medio collocatus est, ut omnium oculis eluceret, tanquam cœlestis quædam credendi et docendi cynosura, sic apud vos quoque in vestro conventu fieret, ut SACRÆ SCRIPTURÆ majestas omnibus colenda, ut regula fidei divina, observaretur; et sicut in antiquæ Ecclesiæ Synodis invocatio SANCTI SPIRITUS præibat, sic in vestro quoque Congressu nobile et illustre præludium, hymnus ille penè divinus, VENI CREATOR, cantaretur, et ORATIO DOMINICA sonaret, ut omnibus palam fieret, vos non in vestrâ intelligentiâ, et in vestris viribus, sed in SANCTI SPIRITUS afflatu et auxilio spem ponere; et quemadmodum in veteris Ecclesiæ Synodis Professio fidei antecedebat, sic in vestro Concilio SYMBOLUM NICÆNUM ab omnibus unâ voce recitaretur, ut omnes scirent vos fidei et amoris sanctissimis nexibus consociari; et ut omnibus innotesceret, vos verè *veteres* esse *Catholicos*, et cum vetere Catholicâ Ecclesiâ CHRISTUM adorare, verum Deum, et verum Hominem, summum Ecclesiæ Pastorem, et Maximum et Æternum Pontificem, Infallibilem fidei et morum Magistrum, "Regem Regum et Dominum Dominantium," et in Eo vos vestram fiduciam collocare.

Sed finis huic nimis prolixæ Epistolæ jam faciendus est. Unum tantum vobis jam spondeo atque polliceor; si Deus nostram profectionem ad vos fortunaverit, me attentum auscultatorem, et devotum pro vobis et Ecclesiâ Catholicâ

precatorem, habebitis. Vale, Vir ornatissime, et nos ama.

Dabam Riseholmiæ prope Lincolniam, A.D. V. Idus Sextiles, A.S. MDCCCLXXII.

The following is an English Translation of the above:—

To Dr. H. Wingerath, Secretary to the Committee of the Congress of the Old Catholics, to be held in September at Cologne.

I should have replied sooner, my dear Sir, to the letter which you have been good enough to address to me, inviting me to the Congress of Old Catholics to be held at Cologne in September, if the matter to which that letter refers had not seemed to me to be of such serious importance as to require mature consideration.

It appeared to me also to be my duty to consult some persons in high station, to whose authority I am bound to defer, especially the most reverend Prelate the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Metropolitan of this Province, to whom I owe canonical obedience. I also referred the subject to the Chapter of my Cathedral Church; and being now fortified with their opinion upon it, I beg leave to address you, with an expression of thankfulness to yourself and those who are associated with you, and also of hope that I may be permitted, by the blessing of God, to enjoy your society at Cologne, and to be present at your assembly.

But while I cherish this pleasing hope, I am induced to crave your indulgence for a short time, while I endeavour to give free utterance to my feelings in contemplating the difficult and glorious enterprise on which you have embarked.

To restore the primitive faith of the Church, to build up again her ancient discipline, to sweep away errors, corruptions, novelties, and superstitions which prevail and have become inveterate in the Catholic Church, and to contend strenuously against that spiritual domination which sets itself up in opposition to Holy Scripture and Christian Antiquity,

and which is now endeavouring to disturb and subvert everything in Church and State,—this, my dear Sir, seems to me a most salutary and noble work, which may well attract and concentrate on itself the hearty good wishes of all who are sound believers in Christ.

I do not, therefore, hesitate to say that we who have been nurtured in the bosom of the Church of England, and who by the mercy of God have enjoyed signal blessings in her communion for many generations, should hardly deserve to be regarded as worthy of the name of Christians if we did not wish you "God speed," and heartily pray for your success, and endeavour to afford you our aid to the best of our power.

In contemplating this subject some reminiscences suggest themselves of a very interesting character, which seem to connect us with you by ties of piety and love.

More than 1100 years have now passed away since the time when S. Boniface, whom you justly style the "Apostle of Germany," went forth from the shores of England to preach the Gospel among you. He exercised an apostolic ministry in those cities, especially where the name of the "Old Catholics" is now famous. May this be a happy omen! Utrecht and Cologne are witnesses of his spiritual struggles. He built churches in Bavaria, he founded the Cœnobium of Fulda, he held the Episcopal See of Mayence as Primate of Germany and Belgium. He erected several Episcopal Sees in Germany. He held eight Councils in your land, in order that he might advance the Christian faith, and establish Christian discipline. Lastly, the Christian Church which he had planted in Germany by his apostolic hand was watered by the blessed martyr with his own blood. When we, therefore, in England revolve the records of our own and of your annals, we perceive that we are connected and associated with you, the Old Catholics of Germany, by endearing bands of Christian faith and love.

On our side, also, we have experienced acts of Christian benevolence from you. In the seventh century after Christ you sent to us a holy man—St. Botolph—a zealous preacher of God's Word, and never to be mentioned without honour

by those who dwell in the county of Lincoln, where he laboured successfully in propagating the Christian faith, and in which one of the most flourishing towns (Boston—*i. e.* Botolph's town) derived its name from him, and preserves and venerates his memory.

Permit me also to cite the example of a learned Prelate who adorned the See of Lincoln for ten years, William Wake, and who, when raised to the Archiepiscopal chair of Canterbury, earnestly endeavoured to cherish brotherly concord and consent between ourselves and the Old Catholics of France (especially the celebrated Dupin) by means of epistolary correspondence and other offices of friendship. And, if the event had corresponded to his desires and efforts, there is no reason to doubt that the condition of France and Europe would have been very different from that which, to our great sorrow, we now see it to be.

Being, therefore, instructed by these records of the past, we should consider ourselves fortunate if we were permitted to lend any help for the completion of that great work which has been so happily begun by you. For, what can be conceived more blessed than to labour with unanimity for the advancement of the glory of God, and for the promotion of the welfare of His Church?

Nor is this all. On some other grounds your courteous communication caused me great pleasure. Last year we held a Synod at Lincoln in our Cathedral Church, at which about 500 presbyters of this diocese were present, and in which we testified our brotherly affection towards you, and resolved that it should be declared to you in a Synodical Epistle.

A few days afterwards a very numerously-attended Congress of clergy and laity was assembled at Nottingham, the most important town in this diocese; and that Congress was animated with a spirit of zeal on your behalf, and favourable mention was made of your proceedings, with enthusiastic applause.

I should, therefore, be shrinking from a duty of my episcopal office, and should be disappointing the just desires of many of my brethren in this diocese, if, when I had received

an honourable call to the Congress at Cologne, I declined to accept the invitation.

At the same time, respected Sir, I am sure you will pardon me, if, laying aside all circumlocution, and being influenced solely by zeal for the truth, I now proceed to make some additions to what has just been said.

You, to whom I look with reverence, claim to yourselves the name of "Old Catholics"—a splendid and glorious title.

We also—the Bishops, priests, deacons, and faithful laity of the Church of England—do not scruple to designate ourselves by the same appellation. We also call ourselves "Old Catholics," inasmuch as we receive every doctrine of the Christian faith which, issuing forth from the fountain and well-spring of Holy Scripture, has flowed to us through the sacred channel of the consent of the ancient Catholic Church.

We recite in all our churches the Three Creeds of the ancient Church of Christ—viz., the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene, and the Athanasian. We recognize and venerate the decrees of ancient Councils in matters of faith. Conformably with the rule of the ancient Church, we consecrate three orders of ministers—Bishops, Priests, and Deacons; continued in an unbroken line of succession from the times of the Holy Apostles, for the due preaching of the Word of God, and for the legitimate administration of the Sacraments of Christ. In a word, whatsoever the ancient Catholic Church recognized and received as necessary to everlasting salvation, we also recognize and receive; and whatever, as to Articles of Faith, the ancient Catholic Church ignored or rejected, we also ignore and reject.

Here, therefore, my dear Sir, an important question arises for examination and discussion between us and you in a friendly spirit and with mildness and gentleness, and without any party bias, as befits Christians and Catholics.

In that Formula of Faith which was put forth by you last year at Munich, two assertions are propounded—may I be allowed to say?—which cause us some embarrassment.

In the first place you appear to embrace the profession of

faith which was promulgated by Pope Pius IV., in the latter half of the 16th century—viz., in the year 1564, and which is imposed upon all as necessary to salvation; or, as its phrase is, "outside which none can be saved." And in that programme, published by you at Munich, you expressly declare that you belong to the Roman Church as "not yet altered by the Vatican Decrees"—that is, you appear to accept all Roman doctrine up to the 18th of July, 1870.

In the Creed of Pius IV., we find 12 Articles of Faith tacked on to the Nicene Creed; not as probable opinions, but to be received by all on pain of everlasting damnation. These 12 Articles have never been proved by any one, nor ever will be proved, to have been received by the ancient Catholic Church; much less to have been enforced by it as terms of Communion.

These 12 Articles, being the dogmas of a later age, are not accepted by us, who have been brought up in the Communion of the Church of England. We are satisfied with the Creeds of the Old Catholic Church; and, pardon me for speaking frankly, my dear Sir, you also ought to be content with the faith of the ancient Church, if you desire, not only to be called, but to be "Old Catholics."

Perhaps I may seem to you to have expressed myself rather too boldly; but you yourselves have given me an occasion for this freedom of speech.

In the same Formula of Faith which you lately published at Munich, you appeal to the decrees of the Councils of the undivided Catholic Church as the best and safest standard of belief. Wisely and nobly you have acted in so doing, and as befits "Old Catholics."

But pardon me, my dear Sir, while I ask one question with great humility. If you take refuge in the faith of the *undivided* Catholic Church as in a sacred harbour, what means that other reference of yours to Pius IV.'s Profession of Faith, which certainly was not produced by the undivided Church, but which has caused innumerable divisions in the Church?

To speak openly, these two propositions do not appear to be quite compatible. But since you desire to be called, and to

be, "Old Catholics," I have little doubt that you will prefer the ancient decrees of the undivided Church to the novel dogmas of Pope Pius IV., and I embrace this opinion more heartily because I am persuaded that if you cling tenaciously to the tenets of Pope Pius IV., you will never be able to prevail against the decrees of Pope Pius IX.; especially against that most recent figment and portentous utterance of his Vatican Council, by which he has impiously arrogated to himself the prerogative of Infallibility, and has thus entangled and riveted himself and his votaries in a perpetual necessity of erring.

Perhaps, Sir, you may be of opinion that these words are spoken with too much warmth; but I have learnt by long experience that simple and unadulterated truth, without colour or disguise, is the best evidence of Christian love; and, therefore, I readily believe that what has now been said will be pardoned by you and yours.

It was incumbent also upon me to declare my sentiments unreservedly on these matters, inasmuch as I am bound by obligations of duty not merely to you, but to those of our own Communion; and I should have deserved ill both of you and of them, if, by complying with you in the language of servile adulation, I had complimented away, by an humiliating compromise and ignominious betrayal, the cause of the Church of England, which I verily believe to be the cause of God and of the Truth. We, in the Church of England, covet no novelties in matters of Faith. No; we altogether detest them. We earnestly long and yearn to communicate with all men in the true Catholic faith and discipline; and if we ourselves shall have been found to have declined from true Catholic Antiquity in matters which are necessary to everlasting salvation (I lay no stress upon mere indifferent things), we do not refuse to be called back by you to the rule of the Primitive Church—nay, we ardently desire it.

But to proceed. Since I am persuaded that you will willingly grant me freedom of speech, I will now utter what remains to be said without shrinking or reserve.

No one who attentively considers the position of the Old

Catholics can fail to perceive that you who have undertaken the glorious task of restoring the Catholic Church to its ancient purity are now placed in a very critical condition with respect to civil affairs, and still more with regard to ecclesiastical. You have to steer your course between a Scylla and a Charybdis. On the one side, it is to be feared, that you may be flung prostrate and overwhelmed by the formidable domination of the Roman Pontiff, grasping all things to himself, and trampling under foot all human and Divine law. On the other hand, it is no less to be apprehended that you may be distracted by multifarious divisions, and may run astray into new opinions and undisciplined licence, and that your strength may be enfeebled and broken by intestine dissensions (forgive this freedom of speech), and that you may be disorganized and dissolved in civil and ecclesiastical confusion and anarchy.

The only safeguard, as it seems to me, against these great evils is, that you should persevere firmly and constantly to be truly "Old Catholics." *Hic murus aheneus esto.* Unity in error is to be opposed by unity in the truth. The spurious infallibility of the Roman Pontiff is to be resisted by the authentic infallibility of Christ. In the Church that is truly Catholic the battle is to be fought against the heretical and schismatical Church of the Papacy. No doctrine ought to be propounded to the people as necessary to eternal salvation except what is derived from the Divine Oracles of Holy Scripture, and agreeable to the faith of genuine Christian Antiquity.[7] Catholic Bishops, successors of the Apostles, but now degraded into serfs and vassals of the Pope, and bound as slaves to the Papal Chair by the chain of a godless oath, unheard of in Christendom for 1400 years after Christ, to

[7] St. Basil (S. Basil, de Fide, tom. ii. p. 224, ed. Paris, 1722) declares the judgment of the ancient Church, when he says, "It is a manifest falling away from the faith, either to reject anything that is revealed in Holy Scripture, or to enforce anything (as an article of belief) in addition to what is written there." And our own Richard Hooker well says (Hooker's Ecc. Pol. ii. v. 4), "To urge anything for religious assent of Christian belief as part of that supernatural and celestially revealed Truth which God hath taught, and not to show it in Scripture, that did the ancient fathers evermore think unlawful, impious, execrable."

the great damage of the Church, and to their own shame and disgrace, ought to be manumitted and emancipated from their spiritual thraldom into their ancient liberty. Fight with these weapons, and by God's help you will gain a certain victory. Then at length the Catholic Church will shine in her genuine purity, and flourish again in her primitive beauty.

But that these things may be brought to a successful result, the work before you is to be transacted not merely by crowded assemblies of men richly furnished with gifts of ability and eloquence, however necessary they may be to stimulate and arouse public opinion, nor by enthusiastic acclamations of applauding multitudes, but with quietness and calmness, and by the united counsels of men most revered for moderation and meekness, for gravity, learning, and wisdom, for purity of faith and holiness of life, especially (without which nothing is strong) the favour and protection of Almighty God.

If, my dear Sir, my voice could have any influence (I well know how feeble it is), I would fain endeavour to persuade you, however unworthy I may be to tender any advice, that as we read in Church histories was done in the Councils of the ancient Church, in which the sacred volume of the Gospels was placed in the midst on a royal throne, in order that it might shine to the eyes of all as a heavenly pole-star of what is to be believed and taught, so it might also be done in your Congress, in order that the majesty of Holy Scripture might be reverenced by all as a Divine Rule of Faith; and as the Councils of the ancient Church were opened by an invocation of the Holy Spirit, so, in your Congress, that divine hymn, the "*Veni Creator Spiritus*," might be sung as a noble and illustrious prelude, and the Lord's Prayer might be said, in order that all the world might know that you do not place your hope and confidence in your own intelligence and on your own strength, but in the inspiration and aid of the Holy Ghost; and, as in the Synods of the ancient Church, a profession of faith preceded their debates, so, in your Council, the Nicene Creed might be recited by all with one voice, that all men may know that you are joined together by the holiest bands of faith and

love, and that all may acknowledge that you are in very deed "Old Catholics," and that you, together with the Old Catholic Church, worship Christ, very God and very Man, the Chief Pastor of the Church, the Great and Eternal High Priest, the Infallible Teacher of Faith and Duty, and the King of Kings and the Lord of Lords.

But it is time to close this long letter. One thing I will venture to promise, that if it should please God to prosper my journey to you, you will have in me one who will listen attentively to you, and will pray heartily for you and for the Catholic Church.

Farewell, my dear Sir, and grant me the benefit of your friendship and regard.

C. LINCOLN.

Riseholme, Lincoln, Aug., 1872.

On Wednesday morning, Sept. 17th, I went with some friends, by invitation, to Bonn, where we were received with a hearty welcome by some of the leaders of the "Old Catholics," who were awaiting our arrival; and we were conducted by them to a house in the suburbs of the town. As this was a private meeting for conference before the session of the Congress, I do not mention the names of those who were present. There were about twenty in number—men of known learning and ability—with some distinguished members of the Churches of Russia and of France, as well as from various parts of Germany.

When we had arrived at the hospitable dwelling to which we were invited, after some words of greeting, I requested those who were present to unite in prayer, for the guidance and blessing of God on our deliberations, and on those of the Congress. The prayer said by me was the following. It is from a collect used in the Provincial Synod of Canterbury. Dr. Döllinger was kneeling at my side when I used it.

"Pater Luminum, et Fons omnis sapientiæ, concede propitius, ut Spiritus Sanctus, Qui Concilio olim Apostolico aspiravit, deliberationes nostras dirigat, ducatque nos in omnem veritatem quæ est secundum pietatem; ut Fidem

Apostolicam et verè Catholicam firmiter et constanter teneamus omnes, Tibique puro cultu intrepidi serviamus, per Jesum Christum Dominum Nostrum. *Amen.*

"Pater Noster, Qui es in Cœlo, &c.

"Gratia Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, et caritas Dei, et communicatio Spiritûs Sancti sit semper nobiscum omnibus. *Amen.*"

I then ventured to say that there was one thing uppermost in my mind; which, with their leave, I would unburden to them. This was, the great importance of endeavouring to impart publicly a *religious* tone and spirit to the movement. By many persons it was regarded as merely an intellectual and political struggle. Doubtless it had that character; but, if it was to succeed, it must, I conceived, possess something higher than that. "The victory which overcometh the world is Faith." If the movement is to attract the sympathy, and stir the enthusiasm of good and great men throughout Christendom, and if it is to present to their eyes the character of a holy enterprise of persons joined together in a sacred union of truly Catholic principles, and if it is to enjoy the guidance and blessing of Almighty God, it ought to *begin* its proceedings with an *Act of Worship, and an Act of Faith.*

There was another point which I was desirous very respectfully of pressing upon them, namely, the necessity of appealing to the Infallible Word of Holy Scripture in justification of their movement; and of regulating their proceedings by its standard; and the duty also of circulating the Holy Scriptures (which, as one of their speakers confessed, are now almost a sealed book in many parts of Roman Catholic Germany) in the mother tongue of the people. And lest they should suppose that we were desirous of leaving the Scriptures to be interpreted by every man according to his own arbitrary caprice, without reference to the authoritative teaching of the ancient Catholic Church, I proposed that the Congress should be opened with the recitation of the Nicene Creed.

These remarks were received with kindness. But exception was taken to them in detail. It was observed that the Congress last year, at Munich, had not been opened in this

manner; and *that* Congress was their precedent. They would seem to be putting themselves in the wrong if they departed from it, at least without careful consideration. It was not usual in Germany to commence meetings in the manner suggested by me. I ventured to remark that the present movement was altogether without a parallel for three centuries, and demanded special direction. It was said by some present, that if they adopted the Nicene Creed, they would appear by implication to condemn and reject the Trent Creed. To this I answered that already at every Mass they used the Nicene Creed, and never the Trent Creed. It was alleged also that by using the Nicene Creed in Latin with the *Filioque* we should be alienating those members of the Greek Church who would be present at the Congress. To this it was rejoined that the Nicene Creed, might be repeated in its original language; or we might use the Apostles' Creed.

After an earnest and friendly discussion, it was agreed that on every morning of the Congress there should be religious services, in which the same Creed (viz., the Nicene Creed) would be said, together with the Lord's Prayer, and the "*Veni Creator*," and that thus we should be united together in professing the same faith at the same time, though not at the same place. It was also stated that the Congress would be closed with singing the "*Te Deum*."

I left with our friends at Bonn copies of the German translation of our English Book of Common Prayer, published by S.P.C.K.; and I may here add that copies of the Latin Prayer Book, published by Canon Bright and the Rev. P. G. Medd, were presented by me to the Archbishop of Utrecht, and to the President of the Congress.

Let me here mention, that with the co-operation of our excellent English chaplain *pro tempore*, commissioned by the Bishop of London, the Rev. F. S. May, we had a celebration of the Holy Communion on Thursday, Friday, Saturday, Sunday, and Monday. On one of these occasions we had the privilege of joining with our American brethren in their Communion Office, the celebrant being the learned, wise, and truly catholic Bishop of Maryland, Bp. Whittingham.

The American Church was represented also by the Bishop of Maryland's chaplain, Dr. Hobart, the son of the late Bishop, whose name is revered and loved by English Churchmen of a generation now passing away, by the learned Dr. Rosè, the Rev. Dr. Nevin, and the Rev. William Chauncy Langdon—whose work, now continued for many years on behalf of the "Old Catholic" cause in Italy, is entitled to all praise. In connexion with him, I cannot omit the name of an excellent English friend who has laboured ably and indefatigably for many years in the same cause, the Rev. Lewis M. Hogg.

On other days, the celebrants were the Bishop of Ely (President of the Anglo-Continental Society), and the Bishop of Lincoln; and they preached also on Sunday the 22nd. An excellent Sermon in the German language was published at Cologne by Dr. Biber.

On the following morning, Friday, the 20th Sept., at 9 a.m., the business of the Congress was opened in the "Isabellensalle of the Guerzenich," by a meeting of delegates from all parts of Germany and other countries. Above 300 persons were present. I may here borrow the words of the correspondent of a London Journal:—

"I mentioned to you in my last letter the opening of the Congress. The President, Von Schulte, addressed them a few words of acknowledgment for the honour they had done him in electing him president for the second time. This time their task was, he said, in one respect, lighter, for at Munich they contended for existence. That meeting and a year's experience of their work had removed all doubt on that head. But, on the other hand, their present work was more difficult, for they had not merely to defend their position as against their opponents, as was the case last year, they had to constitute what that party had left them without. They were not to spend their time now in assailing their opponents. As far as arguments or words could do it, the doctrine of Infallibility had been long since disposed of. What they had to do was to furnish the home they had been obliged to establish for themselves. As to undertaking the reforms which every one felt to be neces-

sary, to do that they must have an episcopacy, and of that they were still bereft.

"The first formal speech was that of Archbishop Van Loos of Utrecht. It was clear that the aged man felt the warmest enthusiasm in the cause, and had we had the advantage of being able to follow him in his own language, the assembly would have been quite carried away, and have pronounced him the greatest of their orators. He justified his own position as a bishop of a foreign Church in coming to take his stand amongst men who had satisfied him of their Catholicity, and whom he found persecuted just as his Church had been persecuted by Rome. He appealed to them to persevere steadfastly in their faith, unshaken by the Jesuit assaults, and could fairly instance the faith with which his own communion had unswervingly held their ground, preaching reunion, and preparing for it by the practice of charity. Nothing was more remarkable than the calm way in which he discussed this question of reunion, not as a matter to be wished, but as an end to be always kept in view; not so much for any practical results that could now attend our efforts as for the spiritual effect which the pursuit of this purpose had upon ourselves. Of his confidence in his Catholicity he spoke with animation. He referred to the long struggles his predecessors had, through the seventeenth century, to resist the Jesuit order, and reminded them that this, and this alone, was the cause of the quarrel. Even, said he, Rome itself acknowledges our Catholicity; for why else was I myself, a hundred and fifty years after the first series of denunciations, excommunicated and driven out of the fold of the Church on my appointment to my bishopric? Why turn us out, if we were already without the pale? With such force did the old man speak, that the meeting was able, from the intonation of his voice and the animation of his face, to interpret many sentences for themselves, and were ready for the next before the previous one was put into German. It was very evident from his discourse how thoroughly he entered into the spirit of the movement, how completely he relied upon the Conservative element in it which Dr. Döllinger represented, and

how cordially pleased the Old Catholics were to have his aid. If the second Congress did nothing more than mark this union between the little Church of Utrecht, with its singular history—so full of the lessons of Jesuit craft and Papal recklessness—and this German movement, it would not have been held in vain.

"The cheers at this speech of the Archbishop had no sooner died away than the Bishop of Lincoln was called on, and, mounting the chair on which he sat in front of the platform, he addressed the meeting in Latin, whilst some of his English friends distributed printed copies of the speech round the room. He explained this arrangement in a few words of French as due to his apprehension that his pronunciation of Latin might not be altogether intelligible to a German audience."

The correspondent of the London Journal kindly adds that "the Bishop maintained the foreign pronunciation of Latin throughout the speech with success." Without venturing to assume that this was the case, I cannot forbear taking this opportunity of expressing a desire that the Head Masters of our great English Public Schools, in concert with the Public School Commissioners, would take the requisite measures, that one *uniform pronunciation of Latin* might be adopted in the Grammar Schools of England, and that this uniform pronunciation should as much as possible be in accordance with that which is most approved on the Continent. This is a matter of importance at the present time, when, by reason of such religious movements as that which is now stirring the heart of Germany, the Christian Churches of Europe are being brought into more frequent communication with one another, and are in need of one common language as a medium of intercourse: and probably no medium would be found so convenient and appropriate as the ancient language of the Western Church.

Whenever even good linguists converse in English with us (I except such men as Dr. Döllinger), they almost invariably sink in our estimation; and we may thence form a shrewd guess as to the impression we make on them, when speaking, especially in public, in their language.

As to religious matters, we do not ask the Old Catholics of Germany to come to us, nor do we intend to go to them; but we ask them to meet us on the common ground and neutral territory of Scriptural, Primitive, Catholic Truth. And this invitation can best be given in the language of the Ancient Catholic Church of Western Christendom; that is, in Latin.

The success of the Reformation in the 16th century was due in great measure to the facility with which the leading Reformers communicated with one another in Latin.

My Address was as follows :—

Episcopi Lincolniensis ad veteres Catholicos, in Congressu Coloniensi congregatos, reciproca salutatio, die XX^mo^ *mensis Septembris,* MDCCCLXXII.

Quod vos, Viri spectatissimi, in conventu solenni congregatos coram intueri liceat, mihi sanè perjucundum est et perhonorificum. Quid enim excogitari potest optabilius, quàm illos invicem salutare, qui pro Ecclesiâ Christi non tantùm strenuè decertare sed omnia perpeti statuerunt?

Verùm enimverò, ne patientiâ vestrâ abutar, panegyricis gratulationibus est temperandum, et ad rem ipsam, de quâ nunc agitur, festinandum.

Patres nostri in Angliâ, qui tercentum et amplius abhinc annis in Ecclesiâ reformandâ laboraverunt, bonis spoliari, contumeliis affici, in carcerem conjici, et flammis cremari, a Romani Pontificis fautoribus non ægrè tulerunt. Martyrio coronati sunt. Patiendo vicerunt. Sed schisma in Ecclesiâ Catholicâ non fecerunt. Altare contra altare non erexerunt. Nullum novum Evangelium, nulla nova Sacramenta, nullum novum Fidei Symbolum, nullum novum Episcopatum, nullum novum Sacerdotium, nullum novum Diaconatum, finxerunt. Nihil novi in Ecclesiam Christi intulerunt; sed antiqua instauraverunt, depravata correxerunt, superstitiosa seposuerunt, corrupta emendaverunt. Verè *veteres* erant *Catholici.* Liturgiam nostram inspicite, quæsumus, veteri Catholicæ consentaneam. Ergo votis eorum favit Deus Optimus Maximus, et conatibus Ipse benedixit. Res ipsa clamat. Hodie in Angliâ nostrâ,—angustâ regione, si cum vestrâ Germaniâ

comparetur—plus quàm viginti mille Ecclesias numerare possumus, in quibus Sacra Scriptura assiduè legitur in linguâ vernaculâ, Symbola vetera recitantur, Sacramenta Christi ministrantur, ritus solennes peraguntur ab Episcopis et Presbyteris nostris, continuâ et nunquam interruptâ successione ab ipsorum Apostolorum tempore ad ea munera obeunda legitimè consecratis et constitutis.

Sed, inquietis, schisma inter vos et Pontificem Romanum exortum est. Ita sanè. Sed nos ab Ecclesiâ Catholicâ nunquam descivimus. Nos, et Principes nostros, Pontifex Romanus excommunicavit. Et quare? Quia ad Christum et Apostolos redire voluimus. Quia ad Sacras Scripturas, et vetera Ecclesiæ Symbola, pura et incorrupta confugere decrevimus. Quia Sacramenta Christi, non manca sed integra, habere statuimus. Quia errores, corruptelas, novitates, superstitiones, Christi et Apostolorum auctoritati adversantes, et Ecclesiæ primitivæ repugnantes, repudiavimus. Excommunicavit nos Pontifex Romanus, quia nos cum eo in erroribus ejus communicare noluimus. Atqui nos excommunicando, non tantum nos excommunicavit, sed *eâtenus* excommunicavit Ecclesiam primitivam, excommunicavit Apostolos, et (si fas est dicere,) excommunicavit Christum: et excommunicando Christum excommunicavit seipsum. Seipsum ab Ecclesiâ Catholicâ abscidit. Roma schisma *fecit*, nos schisma *patimur*. Sed quemadmodum accidisse homini legimus in Evangelio, quem Pharisæi ex Synagogâ ejecerunt quia Christum confessus est, *invenit eum Jesus* et consolatus est (S. Joann. ix. 35) sic de nobis quoque factum est. Nuperi Pharisæi nos ex suâ synagogâ expulerunt. Sed nos Christus invenit; et divinâ Communione cum Eo, Qui Ecclesiæ Caput est, magnâ cum lætitiâ fruimur.

Sed, dum hæc ultrò et palam declaramus, Romanam Ecclesiam, *quâtenus* cum Ecclesiâ Christi Catholicâ et primitivâ adhuc consentit, et *quâtenus* ea quæ Christi sunt adhuc retinet, *Ecclesiam esse non infitiamur*. Baptismum Christi, etiam Judæ manibus administratum, verum esse baptismum agnoscimus. Veteris Ecclesiæ annales evolvite. In quarto post Christum natum sæculo, "ingemuit totus orbis, et Arianum se esse factum miratus est." Arianorum Episcopo-

rum hæretciam pravitatem et perfidiam detestata est Ecclesia vetus orthodoxa, sed eos *esse Episcopos* non negavit. Resipiscentes non iterum ordinavit. Schisma non fecit. Recordamini quæso, viri spectatissimi, sancti Hieronymi in Dialogo adversus Luciferianos (Opp. tom. iv. pt. 2, p. 289, ed. Paris, 1706) de hâc quæstione disserentis. Haud aliter nos in Ecclesiâ Romanâ aliquos esse Episcopos concedimus, et aliquem esse in eâ populum Dei: imò etiam ad vocem divinam de cœlo sonantem aures eorum et animos erigi vehementer optamus, "*Exite de illâ, populus Meus, ut ne participes sitis delictorum ejus, et de plagis ejus non accipiatis*" (Apocalyps. xviii. 4, 5).

Ignoscite, quæso, viri ornatissimi, si hoc exemplum vobis modestissimè proposuero.

Atqui, respondeatis forsan, apud vos Anglos nonnulli Episcopi veritatem amplexi sunt; vobis igitur ad reformandam Ecclesiam via facilis erat atque proclivis. Sed omnes in Germaniâ nostri Episcopi a veritate defecerunt, et contra veritatem conspirant. Nos, in Germaniâ, Episcopos a parte nostrâ non habemus. Haud diffitemur. Non habetis Episcopos, sed habetis Episcopum Episcoporum, habetis Christum. Christus patientiam vestram nunc explorat, fidem examinat, spem probat, tentat caritatem. *Qui crediderit, non festinet* (Esai. xxviii. 15). Schisma vos *patimini*. Sed schisma ne *facitote*. Episcopos novos creare et constituere ne properate. Diœceses, aliis Episcopis jam assignatas, ne temerè invadatis. Christus Ecclesiam suam nunquam deseret. In Illo spem vestram collocate, et fiduciam erigite. Ille, Fons et Origo omnis gratiæ, omnia vobis suppeditabit. Ille vobis omnia necessaria et idonea providebit. Episcopos nondum habetis; sed habetis sacerdotes. Habetis nonnullos in sacerdotio vestro nobilissimos fidei Confessores, a Christo missos, et a Christo probatos. Agite, viri ornatissimi, Ecclesiam primitivam instaurate. Scripturas Sanctas omnibus audiendas et legendas in populari sermone divulgate. Symbola vetera Ecclesiæ, pura et illibata, omnibus recitanda proponite. Evangelium omnibus prædicari, et Sacramenta Christi integra et incorrupta omnibus administrari procurate. Si hæc feceritis, Deus vobis opitulabitur. Preces vestras

pro Episcopis vestris Deus exaudiet, et nonnulli eorum ad saniorem mentem redibunt. Saulus Ecclesiæ persecutor, Sancto Stephano martyre orante, factus est Paulus Apostolus. Christus, in tempore suo opportuno, Episcopos vobis suscitabit; et interim Episcopatûs defectum vobis non imputabit.

Quid plura? Indulgentiâ vestrâ freto liceat hoc etiam adjicere; Paulum Apostolum imitamini. Cæsarem appellate (Act. Apost. xxv. 2). Si *veteres Catholici* re verâ esse satagitis (liberè et audacter loquenti ignoscite), Cæsar vos est recogniturus. *Duas* Ecclesias Pontificias, *duas* Ecclesias Tridentinas, in unâ et eâdem regione, unam cum alterâ acriter depugnantem, Cæsar, meâ quidem sententiâ, vix poterit recognoscere. Et, pace vestrâ dixerim, (sit venia verbo,) Ecclesia Pontificia et Tridentina, quasi logicâ rerum consecutione, et pene necessariâ successione, in Ecclesiam Vaticanam nunc evasit. Si Pontificii estis,—Cæsar vobis regerere poterit,—quare Pontificem non agnoscitis? cur Pontifici resistitis? cur contra universos Pontificis Episcopos rebellatis? Sed, viri eximii, si verè *veteres Catholici* estis, si a Pontifice ad Deum appellatis, si a Romanâ Curiâ et a Vaticano conciliabulo ad Christum, ad Apostolos, ad Evangelistas et ad Ecclesiam primitivam provocatis, vix fieri potest, quin Cæsar vos recognoscat. Nunquam tam grande dedecus Germanorum nomini inuri poterit, ut augustissimus Germaniæ Imperator, Christum, et Apostolos, et Ecclesiam Christi primitivam, ad se, tanquam ad fortissimum atque fidissimum Christianæ Reipublicæ statorem et propugnatorem, confugientes repellat atque rejiciat. Imò potius sperandum est fore, ut Cæsar vos, *veteres Catholicos*, fidelissimos et impigerrimos suæ auctoritatis vindices, et efficacissimos defensores contra hodiernos regiæ dignitatis hostes, Reipublicæ turbatores, et Patriæ perduelliones, omnia divina et humana jura sub Pontificis Romani pedibus conculcanda prosternentes, favore suo prosequatur, auctoritate suâ sustineat, potestate suâ protegat, et honoribus debitis afficiat atque adaugeat.

Et si (quod Deus avertat!) hæc non ita contingant, tamen hoc pro certo polliceri vobis poteritis; omnes qui Deum amant et venerantur, vos Christi confessores et martyres benedictos esse agnoscent. Vos agnoscet Deus Pater, vos

agnoscet Filius Dei, vos agnoscet Spiritus Sanctus, eo quòd, in hoc novissimo labantis pietatis sæculo, vos viam Unitatis in Veritate omnibus aperiendam straveritis.

Quæ cum ita sint, Fratres in Christo dilectissimi, ut finem jam tandem loquendi faciam, Anglia, Sancti Bonifacii vestri Apostoli patria, vobis gratulatur. Vos Ecclesia Anglicana, vos Ecclesiæ omnes cum Anglicanâ communicantes, et per totum orbem terrarum diffusæ, salutant, et operam suam vobis pollicentur; et DEUM Optimum Maximum enixè apprecantur, ut conatus vestros secundet, et ut ad eventum exoptatum perducat; ita ut, tenebris errorum dissipatis, quæ nunc Ecclesiæ faciem obnubilant, puritate primitivâ clarescat; et ut novitiis placitis repudiatis, omnes qui CHRISTI nomen profitemur, "*fidem semel sanctis traditam*" (Epist. Jud. 3) integram atque incorruptam conservemus, et pro eâ strenuè certemus; et ut in mystico Ejus corpore, quæ est Ecclesia Dei Vivi, indissolubilibus caritatis vinculis, et fraterni amoris amplexibus, in æternum consociemur. AMEN.

The following is an English Translation of the above:—

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—We regard it as a great honour and happiness to be allowed to meet and salute you face to face; for what can be a greater privilege than to greet those who have resolved not only to contend courageously, but also to suffer patiently for the Church of Christ? But, that I may not tax your patience, I must abstain from gratulatory panegyrics, and must hasten at once to the subject before us.

Our own ancestors in England, who laboured for the Reformation of the Church more than 300 years ago, were content to be spoiled of their goods, to be loaded with insults, to be cast into prison and to be burnt in the flames by the votaries of the Roman Pontiff. They were crowned by martyrdom; they conquered by suffering; but they did not make a schism in the Catholic Church. They did not erect altar against altar, they made no new Gospel; they made no new sacraments; they made no new creed, no new episcopate, no new priesthood, no new diaconate. They introduced no novelties into the Church of Christ, but they restored what was old; they

corrected what was amiss, they set aside what was superstitious, they purified what was corrupt. They were, in truth, Old Catholics.. Examine our Book of Common Prayer, which is in agreement with the Liturgy of the ancient Church. Therefore, God blessed their work. This is self-evident. At the present day, in England, a country of limited extent as compared with Germany, we can point to twenty thousand churches in which the Holy Scriptures are constantly read in our mother tongue, and the ancient Creeds are recited, and the Sacraments of Christ are administered, and the solemn ritual is performed by bishops and priests consecrated and ordained for that purpose in a continuous and uninterrupted succession from the times of the Apostles.

But you may probably say, "A schism has arisen between you and the Bishop of Rome." Yes, but we have never departed from the Catholic Church. The Bishop of Rome has excommunicated us and our Sovereigns. And why? Because we resolved to return to Christ and His Apostles; because we were determined to resort to the Holy Scriptures and to the ancient Creeds of the Church, pure and incorrupt, and to have the Sacraments of Christ, not mutilated, but entire: and because we renounced and rejected the errors, corruptions, novelties, and superstitions which were repugnant to the authority of Christ and His Apostles and of the Primitive Church. The Bishop of Rome excommunicated us because we would not communicate with him in his errors; but, by excommunicating us, he not only excommunicated us, but in that respect he excommunicated the Primitive Church, he excommunicated the Apostles, and, with reverence be it said, he excommunicated Christ; and by excommunicating Christ he excommunicated himself—he cut himself off from the Catholic Church. Rome *committed* the sin of schism, and we *suffer* from that sin committed by her. But, as it befell the man in the Gospel whom the Pharisees put out of their synagogue because he had confessed Christ, "Jesus found him" and comforted him (John ix. 35), so it is with us. The Roman Pharisees have put us out of their synagogue, but Christ has found us, and we enjoy divine communion with the Head of the Church.

But while we make this assertion, we do not intend to deny that the Church of Rome, so far as she still agrees in some things with the Primitive Church, and so far as she retains some things which appertain to Christ, is still a Christian Church. The Baptism of Christ, though ministered by a Judas, was true baptism. Turn to the pages of Church history; remember the words of S. Jerome in the fourth century after Christ—"the whole world groaned, and was astounded to find itself Arian." The heretical pravity of the Arian Bishops was execrated by the orthodox Church, but she did not deny that they were Bishops. Those of them who recanted their errors were not consecrated by her a second time. She did not make a schism. Remember the words of S. Jerome in his dialogue against the Luciferians (Tom. iv. pt. 2, p. 289, ed. Paris, 1706). In like manner we allow that Rome, however corrupt she may have become by the act of the Vatican Council, still has some Bishops, and contains within herself some people of God, and we earnestly desire that they would listen to His voice, "Come out of her, My people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues" (Rev. xviii. 4).

But you may perhaps reply, "Some of your Bishops in England embraced the truth, and, therefore, the work of Reformation was easy with you; but all our bishops in Germany have fallen away from the truth, and conspire against it; we have not a single Bishop on our side." "True," we answer, "you have no Bishops on your side, but if you have the truth, you have the Bishop of Bishops—you have Christ." He now tries your patience; He tests your faith; He examines your hope; He proves your charity. As the Prophet says, "He that believeth shall not make haste" (Isaiah xxviii. 15). You are now *suffering* a schism, but do not *make* one. Do not be in a hurry to consecrate new *Diocesan* Bishops.[8] Do not be in haste to

[8] The attention of the "Old Catholics" may be respectfully invited to the history of the Meletian Schism at Antioch in the fourth century, as showing the disastrous consequences that may arise, and long continue, from setting up a rival Episcopate, even with good intentions.—See Socrat. Hist. Ecc. ii. 44; iii. 6. Sozomen. Hist. Eccl. iv. 2. Theodoret. Hist. Eccl. v. 3; v. 23. Gieseler, Church Hist., Second Period, Div. i. § 83.

invade dioceses which have been already assigned to other Bishops, and are occupied by them. Christ will never desert His Church. Place your hope and trust in Him. He is the fountain and well-spring of all grace, and He will supply all things needful for you. You have not as yet Bishops, but you have Priests. Among the members of your priesthood you have noble confessors of the truth, sent by Christ and approved by Him. Do what is in your power to restore the Primitive Church. Circulate the Holy Scriptures in your mother tongue, that they may be heard and read by all. Let the Creeds of the ancient Church, pure and unadulterated, be recited by all in your religious assemblies. Let the Gospel be preached to all, and the Sacraments of Christ, unmutilated and unalloyed, be ministered to all. Then God will rise up and help you. He will hearken to your prayers for your Bishops, and some of them will return to a sounder mind. When the martyr S. Stephen was stoned, he prayed to God for his murderers, and Saul the persecutor became Paul the Apostle. Christ in His own good time will raise up to you Bishops, and, in the meantime, your lack of Bishops will never be laid by Him to your charge.

Once more, let me crave your indulgence while I add, Imitate Paul, the Apostle, when persecuted by his own countrymen, "Appeal unto Cæsar" (Acts xxv. 2). If you are really Old Catholics,—pardon, I entreat you, this freedom and boldness of speech—Cæsar will recognize you. In my humble opinion it is hardly probable, it is scarcely possible, that Cæsar should recognize two Papal Churches —two Tridentine Churches—fighting fiercely one against the other in the same country; and—pardon again this frankness of speech—the Papal and Tridentime Church has now developed itself, by a logical sequence and almost necessary result, into the Vatican Church. If you are Papists, Cæsar may naturally reply to you, "Why do you not acknowledge the Pope? Why do you resist the Pope? Why do you rebel against all the Pope's Bishops?" But, most honoured Sirs, if, as I firmly believe, you desire to be truly Old Catholics; if you appeal from the Pope to God;

if you appeal from the Roman Curia and from the Vatican Cabal to the Judgment Seat of Christ; if you appeal from them to the Apostles and to the Evangelists and to the Primitive Church, it is hardly possible that Cæsar should refuse to recognize you. It cannot be believed that such a stigma of shame should ever be branded on the name of Germany as that the most illustrious Emperor of this great nation should repel and reject Christ and His Apostles and the Primitive Church, flying for refuge to him as the most valiant and faithful champion of the Christian commonwealth. Nay, it may rather be hoped that you, the Old Catholics of Germany, may be welcomed by Cæsar as the most loyal and strenuous defenders of his authority, and the most powerful guardians of the prerogatives of the Throne against the modern adversaries of Royalty—the disturbers of the State, and traitors to their Country, who are eager to throw prostrate all human and Divine law to be trampled under foot by the Bishop of Rome; and that Cæsar will protect you with his favour, will support you by his authority, shield you by his power, and recompense you with honours proportionate to your deserts. And even if this should not prove to be the case (which God forbid!), yet one thing at least is certain—all who love and revere God will recognize you as confessors of the truth and as blessed martyrs of Christ. God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost will acknowledge you, because, in these last times of decaying piety and declining faith, you have opened and paved a way to be trodden by all—the way of Unity in the Truth. Therefore, honoured Sirs and beloved Brethren in Christ, England, the land of S. Boniface the Apostle of Germany, sends her congratulations to you. The Church of England, and all Churches diffused throughout the world which communicate with her, salute you; and promise you their sympathy and help. And they earnestly pray to Almighty God that He would vouchsafe to prosper your enterprise, and to bring it to a happy issue, so that the mists of error having been dispersed, which now overcloud the face of the Church of Christ, she may shine forth again in her primitive lustre; and that all novel dogmas

which are repugnant to ancient Truth having been cast aside, all we who profess the name of Christ may preserve whole and entire the "faith once for all delivered to the Saints" (Jude 3), and may be joined together for ever in the mystical body of Christ, which is the Church of the living God, in the indissoluble bonds of brotherly love.

The President, Von Schulte, in acknowledging the foregoing address, took care to state to the audience that there were some points in it in which they could not be expected to agree. There are some things (he frankly said) which the speaker and his friends regard as false, but which we regard as true; and there are other things which they consider as true which we deem to be false. I was pleased with this freedom of criticism. The only way, by which we can do one another any good is, not by an exchange of hollow compliments and cowardly compromises, but by speaking openly and boldly what we believe to be the truth —provided only, according to the Apostolic precept, we speak it in love.—(Eph. iv. 15).

I have reason to know that this freedom of speech gave offence to some.[9] Indeed, the President afterwards announced to the Delegates that he had been reproached by some persons for allowing my speech to be continued, without remonstrance or interruption, to the end. I am not surprised at this. Nations like Germany, distinguished by learning and intelligence, are ready enough to hear counsel and reproof from their own people (as was shown by the enthusiasm with which the Congress listened to speeches far more vehement and bitter, on the doctrines and usages of their own Church, from its own members, than I should ever thought of uttering), but they are naturally susceptible and sensitive in hearing such language from others.

However, I had a public duty to discharge to the cause of Truth, and to the Church Catholic, and to the Church of

[9] I believe, to Dr. Von Döllinger; who, however, afterwards wrote to me an affectionate letter, inviting me to attend, and to preside at, the Old Catholic Conference at Bonn.

England, and with this feeling, "*liberavi animam meam*," and I am glad to have done so.

I must also bear testimony to the courtesy and generosity of the distinguished President of the Congress, Professor Von Schulte, who, both in public and private intercourse, entered fully into my sentiments on the subject.

Having commenced this narrative with the record of our hospitable reception at Bonn, I may mention that on leaving that place, I expressed a hope that our friends among the Old Catholics who had welcomed us there, would give us the pleasure of their company, with some others, to dinner at our hotel, in the interval between the two Sessions of the Congress on Saturday. We had the honour of receiving the Archbishop of Utrecht, the President of the Congress (Von Schulte), the President of the Cologne Committee (Von Wüffling), Professor Huber, Professors Reinkens, Reusch, Lutterbeck, Pfarrer Tangermann, Kuhn, Renfle, Thurlings, Kaminski, &c.; some Russian friends, Dr. Janewsky, President of the Theological Seminary of St. Petersburg, and Colonel V. Kirieff, Aide-de-camp of Archduke Constantine, the Abbé Michaud, and others. The Bishops of Ely and Maryland were present, and Dr. Hobart, Dr. Rosé, the Rev. Lord Charles Hervey, the Warden of Keble College, Oxford, and the Hon. Mrs. Talbot, the Rev. Lewis M. Hogg, the Rev. W. C. Langdon, the Rev. J. Hunt, Mrs. Wordsworth, and two of the Bishop of Lincoln's sons.

The Archbishop of Utrecht was asked to say Grace; which he did, using a Latin form similar to that which is said in our College Halls, and ending with the Lord's Prayer, in which those who were present joined. He also said Grace after dinner, which was also concluded with the Lord's Prayer.

The company then adjourned to the Great Hall of the Guerzenich, where they listened to eloquent speeches of Professor Huber, of Munich; Professor Knoodt, of Bonn; and Professor Michelis, of Braunsberg.

In the afternoon of the following day, powerful and stirring harangues were delivered (in the same place) by Professor

Friedrich, Professor Maassen, and the President (Von Schulte), in the presence of about 4000 persons.

The President (Von Schulte), in his address, traced the effects of Roman dogmas and discipline on social and domestic life. He said: "All my life I have been under a delusion; I thought I was serving the Church of Christ; but it was a caricature of the Church made at Rome." He exposed the pernicious influences of the Confessional, especially on the minds of young women, by the questions they were obliged to answer at Confession. He said that when at school he had never received a lesson out of the Bible; the Bible was virtually a sealed book to the greater part of the Roman Catholic population of Germany; instead of being fed with the bread of life from the Holy Scriptures, their children were starved by dry, technical, and scholastic epitomes, and were drilled by rigid rules which had no spiritual vitality; and, therefore, they were not animated by that quickening faith and holy love which is breathed into the soul by the Spirit, especially in communion with God speaking to it in His Holy Word. He said that this mechanical system of training showed its effects in the relation of husbands and wives, of parents and children, masters and servants; and he freely owned that domestic morality and virtue were at a lower level in Roman Catholic Germany, than in Protestant countries where the Bible was received with faith and love. Therefore one of the great designs and ends of the present movement was not only to reform the Church, and to defend the State, but also to infuse fresh life into the family. One of the encouraging characteristics of the present Congress was, that it received an assurance of sympathy and support during its sittings from the Patriarch of Constantinople, and from the Armenian Episcopate, and from the Archbishop of Syros and Tenos, and from the personal presence of distinguished members of the Greek Church. I ought not to omit, that the President in the first two great public meetings of the Congress testified his respect for the Bishop of Ely (now Bishop of Winchester), and for the Anglican Communion, by presenting him to this vast assembly of more than 3000 persons.

The following are extracts from a published report of the Bishop's speech:—

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—A reference has been most kindly made by Professor Reinkens to the *Anglo-Continental Society*, of which I am President, and it has been thought that I ought to say a few words in consequence. That Society, founded about twenty years ago, is deeply interested in the great movement of the Old Catholics. It was founded for the sake of giving information concerning the English Church to Christians on the Continent, and of obtaining information for English Churchmen concerning the Continental Churches, in the belief, that if we could know and understand each other better, we should be drawn closer together, and might both learn from one another and teach one another. Especially the Society has for its purpose to promote prayer for the reformation of defects and errors in the Church, and for greater unity and love among Christians. And I may say, that the Old Catholics are doing, or are promising to do, the very work which our Anglo-Continental Society desires to see done; viz. the work of internal purification of the Church, if possible, without producing schism in the Church. We, English Churchmen, naturally sympathize deeply with the German Old Catholics; for we, in England, have had to struggle against oppression on the one hand, and against licentiousness and unbelief on the other. You have now the same struggle. We have had the advantage of carrying our Bishops with us in our reforms, and so we could make reforms without creating a schism. You have greater difficulty from not having your Bishops to guide and help you. We hope and pray for you, that you may be able to maintain purity of faith, true Catholicity and Christian liberty, having power to carry the people with you in making reforms within the Church, that you may not be forced to break off from the Church of your Fatherland, but may retain it and remain within it, purified, strengthened, and freed. I will only add that you have honoured us with an invitation to be present at your most interesting Conferences. I greatly wish that your leading men would come over and

visit us in England. We should welcome you heartily. You might see the working of our Church life. I hope that you would see something of good in it. If you did not learn anything from us, you might teach and help us.

On the morning of Monday, the 23rd, the Committee for the consideration of the question of reunion of Churches, constituted of ten members of the Congress — Döllinger, Friederich, Michaud, Michelis, Langen, Lutterbeck, Roettels, Reinkens, Reusch, and Von Schulte—met in the small room of the Guerzenich. The members present in Cologne of the Greek and Utrecht Churches, except the Archbishop of Utrecht, attended, as did also the Bishop of Ely, Lord Charles Hervey, the Rev. F. S. May, and several other members of the English and American Churches. Von Schulte said he supposed all were agreed that, as there was one God and one Christ, there ought to be one Church. A further principle accepted by all present on the proposition of Michelis was, that the dictum of St. Vincent of Lerins, *Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus,* should be the creed of this Church. The Anglican clergy reminded the Committee that they had no representative power. The members of the Russian Church declared their position to rest on that of the first seven undisputed Councils. It was arranged that secretaries should be appointed for the Russian and Greek Churches combined, and for the English and American combined, to correspond with the reunion Committee of the Old Catholic body. Lord Charles Hervey was appointed to act for the English and American Churches, and the Committee adjourned to Munich.

Let me briefly now add a few words in conclusion.

It would be ungenerous to disparage the work of the Old Catholics in the recent Congress. To say (as some have done) that "the movement is a failure," that it is a mere convulsive and abortive outbreak, which will soon cease to be heard of—is to speak with equal disregard of charity and truth.

Let us review the history of our own Reformation. How

slow was its progress, how many drawbacks and embarrassments retarded it, how many checks had it to sustain, how many obstacles to overcome! Nearly two hundred years elapsed between the birth of John Wicliffe and that of Matthew Parker. But under the controlling and overruling Providence of God, even its hindrances, hesitations, and persecutions were seen eventually to have been fraught with blessings.

I have already expressed a desire, in a letter to the Secretary to the Congress and in an interview with its leaders at Bonn, on the eve of its first meeting, and in a speech on the first day of the Congress, that the movement would assume a more distinctly spiritual and doctrinal character. The desire then felt and expressed became more intense during the Congress.

I believe that the Old Catholic cause would have a great accession of power if it opened its public proceeding with a public profession of faith and with a common act of prayer and praise.

May I be permitted to say that though prudence is a Christian virtue when grounded on Christian principles, and guided by Christian precepts, yet, if it subordinates what is divine to what is human, and sacrifices what is heavenly to what is earthly, it forfeits the name of prudence, and becomes craft.

To say (as some of the adherents of Old Catholicism do) that the Old Catholics hold all Roman Catholic doctrine, *minus* the *Vatican decrees*, and that *therefore* the Old Catholic body is *the* Roman Catholic Church with which the State entered into contract, before that Council, and is consequently entitled to recognition from the State as such, and to receive endowments from the State in that capacity, is hardly a tenable allegation. If it is good for anything, it would prove that the endowments of the Church ought to be transferred from the German Roman Catholic Bishops and their adherents to the comparatively small body of Old Catholics. But such a plea appears to be too feeble, especially when it comes from some who publicly and energetically denounce the whole Papal system, as some Old Catholic

speakers do, and who rise up in open resistance to the Roman Pontiff and the Papal Episcopate.

It was also said by some Members of the Congress that that they were not *competent* to deal with questions of Church Reform, concerning *doctrine* and *discipline*, inasmuch as, having no Bishops, they have "no organ for the purpose."

But with great deference I would venture to observe that their own position and acts seem to be at variance with this declaration of incompetency. What have the Old Catholics already done? They have pronounced a sentence of censure on the Vatican Council. They have rejected the dogma of Papal Infallibility. They have virtually condemned the Roman Pontiff himself, and the Roman Catholic Episcopate. Their present position and proceedings are based on this ground. And they have also, at Munich and Cologne, resolved to constitute Ecclesiastical Congregations, and to appoint Bishops, in opposition to the Pope and the Papal Hierarchy. And for this purpose they are now fraternizing with the Church of Utrecht, which is under the ban of Papal excommunication.

Thus they have assumed themselves to be competent to pronounce sentence on the gravest matters of Ecclesiastical doctrine and discipline; and can they disclaim competency to deal with matters of doctrine and discipline, which have been clearly settled by the plainest testimonies of Holy Scripture and the Catholic Church?

There can, I think, be little doubt that they will ere long see reason to act more courageously, and (may I presume to add?) more consistently in this respect.

My impression is that the cause of Old Catholics would gain in public estimation, and would commend itself to the acceptance of Civil Governments, if it would realize in act the speeches of some of its most eminent adherents at the Congress, and would unfurl boldly the banner of genuine religious Reformation, on sound Scriptural and Catholic principles, and would hold it up with an unflinching hand in the eyes of the world. I cannot concur in the opinion, enunciated by some of them, that it is necessary to wait for

a Synod of the Church in order to do this. The prospect of a Synod of Bishops, acting in this sense, is a very dim and distant one. A Provincial or Diocesan Synod is not necessary to tell us that the Sun shines at noonday. It is not needed to inform us that the Word of God, interpreted by the judgment and practice of the Primitive Church, is the Rule of Faith. What is the use of a Diocesan or Provincial Synod of Germany to reiterate the ancient Creed received by the Church Universal? This would be *actum agere*. And what is the need of a Diocesan or Provincial Synod to teach us what has been clearly taught 1800 years ago, in Holy Scripture and by the practice of the Primitive Church, that enforced clerical Celibacy, and Prayers in an unknown tongue, and auricular Confession exacted from all, and other similar things, are no parts of the Gospel of Christ. I therefore venture to think that the Old Catholics would show more wisdom and prudence if they had more decision, and could put forth a bolder and more definite statement of doctrine and discipline.

Among other reasons for that opinion is this. The position of the Old Catholics in Germany is a difficult one, but the condition of the *German Empire* is still more critical. Germany has achieved a conquest over France; but it requires far more wisdom and courage to fight a moral and spiritual battle than to vanquish the armies of France in the open field. "United Germany" may yet be shattered to pieces by an intestine religious war.

What are the moral, intellectual, and spiritual forces which Prince Bismarck enlists on the side of the Empire in the Campaign which is now before him, the first war-note of which has been sounded in the expulsion of the Jesuits, and in the disendowment of the Bishop of Ermeland? German Rationalism is democratic, German Scepticism is anarchical, German Protestantism, as was confessed at the Congress by the President of the Protestant Verein, Professor Bluntschli of Heidelberg, can never be united in religious doctrine with the Old Catholics, and has no dogmatic Unity in itself. Civil Governments cannot look with any confidence to any of these disjointed bodies for any compact and solid

support against the well organized phalanx of Ultramontanism, which is swayed secretly and mysteriously by the will of one Man, who is supposed to be Infallible, and whose commands are obeyed implicitly because they are believed to be oracles of God.

The only reasonable prospect of success against such a formidable Power, is in the raising up such a national Church—Evangelical, Apostolic, Catholic—as the Old Catholic body professes to be in name, and as, it is to be hoped, it may prove to be in fact.

I feel a strong persuasion—with reverence be it said—derived from the study of Scripture Prophecy, and from the signs of the times, that before the end of the World, and probably ere long, the Church of Rome will make a great struggle, and put forth all her energies, in different countries of Europe, and that by a necessary process of reaction against these efforts there will be a great outbreak of Infidelity, and an overflow of Lawlessness and Insurrection.

But at the same time there appears reason to believe that by God's good Providence a great impulse will also be given to the spread of His Truth, and to the communication of it to all who are desirous of receiving it, and to the union of many—who are now separated from one another—on the common basis of that divinely revealed Truth.

We seem to have a prospect before us of Revolution, and of Reformation.

The movement of the Old Catholics in Germany appears to be a part of the Divine plan for the gracious purposes of neutralizing the disastrous influences of Papal despotism, and of Unbelief and Anarchy ,which, by an excess of reaction, are produced by it; and for the salvation of many souls from the shipwreck which now threatens society.

On such grounds as these let us not uncharitably disparage it, because yet its day may be "the day of small things;" but let us heartily thank God for it, and let us pray Him to bless and direct it.

I returned to England with feelings of greatly deepened interest in this great struggle for the sacred cause of

Faith and Freedom, and of thankfulness to you for the encouragement you gave me to go and observe it; and for the prayers offered by you and your congregations on its behalf; and with more intense love and gratitude to Almighty God for the great blessings our own country has received from Him in our English Reformation, and for the inestimable benefits we enjoy in our own national Church. May we be enabled by His grace to show ourselves more sensible of His goodness, by hearty union among ourselves, in the firm maintenance of His Truth, and in devout love to our common Lord!

I am,
My dear friends,
Yours faithfully and affectionately,
C. LINCOLN.

September 27, 1872.

As a sequel to the foregoing, and in evidence of continuance of friendly relations, I may be allowed to insert here the following replies to invitations received from them to the Congress of Old Catholics at Constance in 1873, and Freiburg in 1874.

Egregio Præsidi
C. A. CORNELIO
ad Concilium Veterum Catholicorum Constantiæ habendum benevolè invitanti
S. P. D.
CHRISTOPHORUS WORDSWORTH,
Episcopus Lincolniensis.

Accipio lætus fraterni pignus amoris,
Et gratæ mentis mutua dona fero;
Atque utinam nobis vos compellare liceret,
Et nos consiliis consociare tuis!

Sed nos ire vetant stringentes undique curæ,
Et gravat officii Pontificalis onus.
Spiritus at liber ponti citò transvolat undas,
Et miscet precibus fervida vota tuis.

Inclyta quà tollit veteres Constantia turres,
Jam video doctum se glomerare chorum:
Agnosco præsens in te, Constantia, Numen;
Concilium Nemesis convocat ipsa Tuum.

Tu famosa nimis Synodo, Constantia, sævâ
Nunc es Concilio nobilitanda pio;
Martyrum ubi quondam maduit tua sanguine tellus,
Nunc seges albescit messis Apostolicæ;

Ecce! novo cineres Hussi[1] fulgore coruscant,
Fitque Evangelii fax pyra Martyrii;
Pragensis[2] video venerandam surgere formam,
Inque tuo cœtu vivida verba loqui.

Oh! utinam talis fidei nos excitet ardor,
Accendatque sui flaminis igne Deus!
Tum quisnam tremeret? quis non audere paratus
Pro Cruce cuncta foret, pro Cruce cuncta pati?

Nos omnes utinam pascamur Corpore Christi,
Nos omnes recreet Sanguinis Ille Calix![3]
Una Fides, Unus Christus, nos Spiritus Unus,
Unus et unanimes jungat amore Pater!

Sic, ubi transierint mortalia sæcula, Cœli
Nos una accipiat non peritura Domus!
Hæc tibi concordi reddit Lincolnia mente,
Concilioque precans omnia fausta Tuo.

Lincolniæ, Nonis Septembribus A.S. MDCCCLXXIII.

[1] Joannes Huss, igne crematus a Concilio Constantiensi, ob Calicem Laicis vindicatum; et Martyrio coronatus septimo die mensis Julii, 1415.

[2] Hieronymus Pragensis pariter a Concilio Constantiensi condemnatus, similiter Martyrio coronatus, tricesimo die mensis Maii, 1416.

[3] Calix Eucharisticus Laicis interdictus a Concilio Constantiensi (sess. 13).

TRANSLATION OF THE ABOVE, BY A FRIEND.

Gladly this pledge of brothers' love we greet,
And thankfully return: oh! would that we
Might mingle in your halls, in converse sweet
Speak face to face, from anxious duties free.

But hemm'd on every side by hindering cares
We pause, o'erburdened by the pressure grave
Of Pastoral Office; yet our fervent prayers,—
To join with yours,—are wafted o'er the wave;

Even now toward Constance' ancient towers I view
In friendly bands the sage and scholar throng:
Seat of one ruthless Synod![4] henceforth new
And nobler titles shall to thee belong.

A present Providence with thee we own,
See Nemesis herself your Council cite:
Where once thy soil with Martyr's blood was sown
Are Apostolic fields to harvest white.

Lo! lightnings from the smouldering ashes break
Where Huss[5] once suffered, strong in conscience' might,
A witness to His truth, whose grace can make
The Martyr's funeral pyre a torch of Gospel light.

And he of Prague arises,[6] reverend name,
Kindling your souls with vivid words of fire;
Oh! could such faith awake the dormant flame
In our dull hearts, and kindred zeal inspire!

Then, who could tremble? Who so cold and dead
But for the Cross would dare, and all endure?
Oh, were we all on that one Body fed!
All by that Blood refresh'd from chalice pure!

[4] The Council of Constance, held A.D. 1414—1418.

[5] John Huss, burnt by the Council of Constance for not accepting the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and maintaining that the Cup should be administered to the Laity in the Holy Communion. Although he had received "a safe conduct to and from the Council," he was martyred July 7, 1415.

[6] Jerome of Prague, condemned in like manner by the Council, and also crowned with martyrdom, May 30, 1416.

One Faith, one Christ be ours, and Spirit One,
  One Father join us in one loving mind;
So, when these restless mortal years are done,
  May we in Heaven one changeless mansion find.

'Tis thus that Lincoln's heights, with far-spread gaze,
  Return thy greeting, echo back thy prayer:
God send His blessing on your works and ways,
  And to your Council grant all prosperous issues fair!

Lincoln, September 5, 1873.

THE OLD CATHOLIC CONGRESS AT FREIBURG, 1874.

Egregio Præsidi
C. A. CORNELIO
ad Concilium Veterum Catholicorum Friburgi habendum benevolè invitanti
S. P. D.
CHRISTOPHORUS WORDSWORTH,
Episcopus Lincolniensis.

Implicitus quanquam curis, senioque gravatus,
  Concilio longè cogar abesse Tuo;
At mens fraterni studio festinat amoris,
  Spiritus et fesso corpore liber adest;
Commiscetque preces precibus, pia votaque votis
  Anglica Germanâ juncta sorore soror.

Oh! utinam vobis adspirans cœpta secundet
  Annuat et præsens omniâ fausta DEUS!
Sic iterum surgens vinclis Ecclesia ruptis
  Ostendet faciem vivificata suam;
Oh! utinam redeat, pulsâ novitate, Vetustas,
  Et fuget errores intemerata Fides!

Scripturæ cunctis Oracula Sancta patescant,
Maternoque sonent omnibus eloquio!
Dispensans plenè cunctis Mysteria Christi
Sacra Ministerium reddat Apostolicum!
Unanimes utinam populos Tria Symbola jungant
Unius et Trini relligione Dei!
Oh! utinam puro ritu, cui Spiritus adsit
Et Ratio, possit Mundus adire Deum!

Tum qui complexus nobis, carissime Frater,
Angelicoque forent gaudia quanta choro!
Tum qui Christicolas antiquo tempore vinxit,
Christicolas iterum consociaret Amor.
Ipsa videretur Tellus attingere cœlum,
Humanasque domos Ipse habitare Deus.

Hæc linguâ absentes, præsentes mente, precamur,
Et quod cor repetit, dicimus ore "Vale!"

Rischolmiæ prope Lincolniam,
XV. *Kal. Septembres,* MDCCCLXXIV.

TRANSLATION OF THE ABOVE, BY A FRIEND.

By weight of cares and years detained at home,
Although we dare not to your Council come;
Yet wingèd wishes soar, and free as air
Fraternal Love takes flight, and greets you there;
There mingling prayers with prayers, like sisters dear,
Our England and your Germany draw near.

May God your counsels guide, your labours crown,
His Spirit breathe, and make your work His own!
So may the Church of Christ cast off her chain,
And rise restored to pristine health again:
May ancient Lore, from novelties made free,
Revive, and spotless Faith bid Error flee!

May Scripture's Oracles, imprison'd long,
Speak to all hearts in their loved mother-tongue!
By Apostolic hands the Bread of heaven
And the pure Cup to all be freely given!
May the Three Creeds, which teach One Faith Divine,
Join all in worshipping The One and Trine;
With holy Ritual may the World draw nigh,
And solemn reverence pay to God Most High;
Oh! may the quickening Spirit's breath be there,
And Understanding lend a soul to prayer!

Then, brother dear, with how divine a grace
Would heart be knit to heart in Faith's embrace:
Then would the Choirs Angelic from above
Bend down, rejoicing at our earthly love:
Then Charity again, with that pure fire
Which glow'd of old, would Christian hearts inspire;
Then Earth herself would touch the heavenly sphere,
And God would dwell in human mansions here.

Such are our prayers; and what our voices tell,'
Our inmost hearts repeat,—"Farewell! Farewell."

Riseholme, Lincoln, August 18th, 1874.

ERASMUS AND THE OLD CATHOLICS.

The foregoing Notes on the Old Catholic Congress at Cologne, and on the Old Catholic movement generally, may not unfitly be followed by some remarks on the work of Erasmus and other Reformers in the 16th century. They are from a Preface written, at request, by me to an interesting work of a learned friend, the Rev. Arthur Robert Pennington, Rector of Utterby, Lincolnshire, entitled "The Life and Character of Erasmus. London, 1875."

Erasmus was one of the principal instruments employed by Divine Providence, for conferring great benefits, intellectual, moral, and spiritual, on human society; and the study of his life inspires feelings of thankfulness, while it supplies lessons of instruction, which are seasonable at the present time.

The capture of Constantinople by the Turks, and the dissolution of the Eastern Empire, were calamities which Europe regarded with dismay. But the evil was overruled for good. Greek teachers emigrated from the Eastern capital. The Learning and Literature of Greece was driven westward by the tide of barbarism and unbelief; and being aided by the discovery of Printing, were made ministerial to the revival of Letters, and to the Reformation of the Church.

Erasmus, born in Holland, at Rotterdam, in 1467, and educated at Deventer—where he was a school-fellow of a future Pope, Adrian VI.—felt the influence of these events. Many years elapsed before he mastered the Greek language,

but by dint of severe study, especially at Oxford and Cambridge, he became qualified to bestow the greatest blessing on the world that it received for many hundred years. He published the first edition of the Greek Testament, at the printing-press of Froben, at Basle, in the year of our Lord 1516.

In other respects also, circumstances, seemingly unfavourable to Christianity, were made conducive to its rapid diffusion. The continuation of the use of the Latin language in the public services of the Church was doubtless, in many respects, a spiritual evil. But this also was overruled for good. It preserved Latin from becoming a dead language, at least among well-educated men, and it made Latin to be, in a certain sense, universal.

Erasmus was an enterprising traveller; he was a citizen of the world; he spent some time at Louvain, Padua, Florence, Rome, Paris, and Basle. He resided also in England. But he knew no modern language except his own, in which few foreigners could converse with him. And he was everywhere at home. He came to Oxford with letters of introduction to Charnock, Prior of the Augustinians, in the College of St. Mary, in 1497, and soon after his arrival received a Latin letter from John Colet, afterwards Dean of St. Paul's, then at Oxford, and wrote a reply to him in the same language. This was the beginning of a long friendship, happy and useful to both, and to the Church and to the world.

The same may be said of the intercourse of Erasmus with the dear friend of Dean Colet, Sir Thomas More, and with his predecessor in the chancellorship, Cardinal Wolsey, and Archbishop Warham, and their royal master, Henry the Eighth. If Europe had not then had a common language for learned men, some of the best friendships would never have been formed, and the light of pure and primitive Christianity would not have been rekindled, and diffused so rapidly, as it was, throughout the world.

At the present time we speak of the publication of numerous editions of an article in a Review as a remarkable event: but its circulation is limited to a narrow range, com-

pared with what was reached by literary works of the sixteenth century, which we regard as barbarous. The "*Moriæ Encomium*" (or "Praise of Folly") of Erasmus, and afterwards his "*Colloquies*," might be called religious and political essays or pamphlets, and were disseminated everywhere by thousands of copies; they were eagerly read by popes and cardinals, kings, princes, and statesmen, bishops, abbots, and clergy, secular and regular, and by judges, civilians, canonists, and magistrates, and many other laymen, and also by fair ladies, in all parts of Europe, and their influence was proportioned to their diffusion.

Some religious Meetings of learned and pious men of different churches and countries have lately been held, as at Munich, Bonn, Cologne, and elsewhere; and there is reason to hope that Conferences of this kind may become more frequent, and be conducive to the advancement of Christian truth and Christian peace.

Would it not be worth while to consider whether one common language—especially Latin, with the same pronunciation—might not be adopted with advantage at such consultations as these? Would not this be better than that the members of a Conference should speak in their own tongue, and that the rest should wait (as in some cases lately at Cologne) for an oral translation of what had been said?

The services of Erasmus in editing the works of ancient Fathers of the Church, especially St. Jerome, and of Latin translations of portions of St. Athanasius, St. Chrysostom, and St. Basil, claim thankful commemoration. His patristic studies prepared and qualified him for the execution of a great work which was recommended to general acceptance by the depth and variety of its learning, by the tolerant moderation of its temper, and by the gracefulness and terseness of its language—his Paraphrase of the New Testament. This was translated into English by Nicolas Udal, Master of Eton College (a portion of it, I believe, by Queen Mary), and every parish in England was required, by the royal authority of Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth, to procure a copy of it for general access in the parish church.

No one can say how much the English Church and Nation

have been indebted—from that time to this day—to the benefits thus conferred upon them by the learned scholar of Rotterdam—Desiderius Erasmus.

Erasmus was not a Luther; and Luther was not an Erasmus. The one was a complement of the other. Their differences are brought out sharply and clearly in the epistolary correspondence between them. If Erasmus had displayed in his writings the vehement indignation of the great German Reformer, his Paraphrase of the New Testament would not have met with the general acceptance it enjoyed. None of Luther's works attained equal celebrity. But if Luther had been an Erasmus, some of the worst corruptions of the Papacy would have escaped unscathed. Each of the two had his special mission; and so far as that mission was a holy one, let the Giver of all Good be praised for it.

We who live now may learn much from them both. Erasmus, like Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio in Italy, and like the author of "Piers Ploughman's Vision,"[1] and our Chaucer in the fourteenth century, and our Colet in the fifteenth and sixteenth, desired to see a Reformation of the Church *within* the Church, and proceeding *from* the Church. The Reformation, which he wished for, and which Colet advocated in his celebrated sermon preached before the English Convocation at St. Paul's in 1511, was rather a Reformation of *manners*, of bishops, clergy, and people, than of *doctrine*. Not that any of these illustrious men had the slightest sympathy with those dogmas which have now been made fundamental in the Romish system,—especially that of the personal Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff, and the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Erasmus clung tenaciously to the authority of the *Church*, but *not* to that of the *Pope*. He freely satirized the licentious Alexander VI., Borgia, and the bellicose Julius II.; and in his "Axioms" communicated to Spalatinus, and probably through him to the Elector Frederick of Saxony, he did not hesitate to censure Pope Leo X.'s Bull, condemnatory of Luther, as "offensive to all good men;" and he even went so far as to suggest the abolition

[1] The author of Piers Ploughman's *Creed* is more anti-dogmatic.

of the festival of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin.[2] He certainly would not have been an advocate for declaring that Conception to have been Immaculate, and for making the Immaculate Conception to be an article of Faith. But he hoped that, by the circulation and study of the Holy Scriptures, and by the reading of the writings of the Christian Fathers, and by the discipline of such schools as his learned friend Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, had founded and munificently endowed (and for which Erasmus provided religious exercises of devotion), and by the indirect influence of classical literature and elegant scholarship, and by his own sportive pasquinades and satirical raillery on religious pilgrimages, such as that to the shrine of St. Mary of Walsingham, and St. Thomas of Canterbury, and on other abuses which he exposed with the caustic wit of a Rabelais, many of the worst corruptions and errors of Romanism, which he regarded as due to ignorance and barbarism, and to the influence of scholastic theology, would gradually and quietly melt away.

But the spirit of Wickliffe had revived in Martin Luther, and he, with others like him, were eager for immediate results, and boldly attacked dogmas which lay at the root of these practices. Doubtless in so doing Luther assailed some things that might have been spared, and spared others that might have been assailed.[3]

Erasmus sacrificed Truth to a love of Unity. Luther sacrificed Unity to a love of Truth. The sacrifice of *self* to the love of both Truth and Unity would have immortalized both, and have restored the Church.

In its hatred of the Papacy Germany lost Episcopacy. She

[2] See his interesting discourse "De Amabili Ecclesiæ Concordiâ," written only three years before his death, in Browne's "Fasciculus Rerum Expetendarum," vol. i. p. 462.

[3] Luther's reckless dictum concerning the Epistle of St. James (as a "straminea Epistola") is one of the specimens of that arbitrary dogmatism and lawlessness of private opinion which unhappily marred and damaged his work, and which have been the fertile sources of that *subjective* Biblical Criticism, which has weakened the belief of many in the authority and inspiration of the Bible, and prepared the way for infidelity and its results, especially in Germany, Holland, and Switzerland.

forfeited that form of ecclesiastical government which had been continued in the Church from the time of the Apostles for 1500 years. The consequences of this loss are now manifest to all. St. Jerome never said a wiser thing than that there is "no schism which does not generate a heresy;" and Tertullian said no less truly that when a disruption takes place, and conflicting sects split off from the Church, their only term of communion among themselves is discord; their only "unity is schism;" and the consequences are seen not only in religious strifes, but in civil turmoils and confusions.

Let us not, however, take on ourselves to censure either Erasmus and Luther, but let us learn wisdom from both.

The study of their history and of that of their contemporaries has a special interest for the "old Catholics" of Germany, Holland, Switzerland, and Italy at the present time, and for all who sympathize with them in their noble endeavour to reform the Church by an appeal to Holy Scripture and to primitive Christian Antiquity. It is fraught with solemn warnings and salutary instruction to them and to us.

A great conflict is probably at hand, in Germany and elsewhere, which will be more violent than that of the sixteenth century. Two forms of anti-Christianism, antagonistic to each other, are rising in Europe, and driving each other by an excess of reaction to more dangerous extremes, both hostile to the Truth, and to Unity in Church and State; both tending to confusion in doctrine, discipline, and civil polity,—Ultramontanism on the one side, and Unbelief on the other. The country of Luther is the battle-field of this struggle. The fatherland of Erasmus is also concerned in it. Germany and Holland have felt also the effects of the counter-movement of "old Catholicism" begun at Munich, and continued at Cologne, Freiburg, and Bonn.

The conflict of Ultramontanism and Unbelief will probably extend throughout Europe and the World. Sounds of its approach are heard among ourselves. How shall we meet it? History testifies that a well-organized Ultramontanism

can never be effectually counteracted by a sceptical Secularism, nor by a revolutionary Rationalism. Neither of these will save the civil and ecclesiastical institutions of a country. They create nothing, they construct nothing, they conserve nothing. They are only potent—and very energetic they are—in destruction. Nor will a discordant Sectarianism, or a creedless Erastianism—the one distracting the Church, the other seeking to tyrannize over it—preserve a State from disruption. The conflicts of the seventeenth century in England, when Sectarianism and Erastianism were rampant, warn us of this.

Aërius, the enemy of Episcopacy, and Erastus, the author of secular despotism in things spiritual, are, in fact, the best allies of Hildebrand, the representative of the Ultramontane dogmas and polity; because they weaken the Christian Church, which is the only safeguard against the schisms and heresies of Rome, and against her temporal and spiritual domination. Our only hope of security and success against Ultramontanism and Infidelity, which are marshalled against each other, and are now threatening to overwhelm society in anarchy and ruin, is in reading carefully the history of the past, and in learning the lessons which it teaches, that the security of Churches, Monarchies, and States depends on obedience to the Will and Word of God, and on the maintenance of that sound form of Evangelical and Catholic doctrine, and Apostolical form of Church government, which is contained in the Holy Scriptures, and which was received by the primitive Church, and which was cleared from corruptions at the English Reformation in the sixteenth century by wise, learned, and holy men, who, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, steered a middle course between the temporizing moderation of an Erasmus and the rash boldness of a Luther; and while they waged war against heresy, were not guilty of schism, but contended manfully for the Faith, while they steadfastly maintained the unity of the Church.

Monday before Advent, 1874.

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